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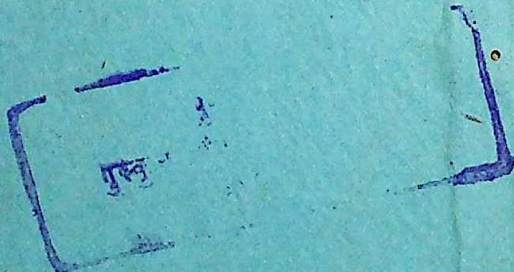
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Harsha meeting his father on his death-bed.

—*Bāṇa's Harṣacarita.*

STUDIES IN THE UPANIṢADS.

BY

SRIMATI O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M. A.,

University Estate, Rangoon.

(Formerly Research Student, Madras University.)

Continued from page 329, Vol. III, J. O. R. M.

SECTION III —TRANSMIGRATION AND KARMA:

The fundamental idea in the Hindu doctrine of Saṁsāra is that of Karma, the indestructible nature of the deed in its inevitable consequences to the doer, combined with the belief in immortality. The other elements of the doctrine, chiefly, the migration of souls into animal or lower forms of life, have a way of diverting attention from the nucleus of the Saṁsāra theory—the belief in Eternal justice and the immortality of the spirit. It is really only a step from this belief to the idea of souls inhabiting animal bodies or plants and even inanimate objects, working out the fruits of deeds acquired in another life. Observation of the facts of heredity and the conditions in which creatures capable of suffering, if not of willing, live their lives, might well have suggested the idea of a transmigration of souls, even into forms other than human, independently of suggestions from aboriginal sources of which we hear so much; not that we need be ashamed to acknowledge our indebtedness to this 'aboriginal' element in our composition, when we remember that even the accounts of their Āryan enemies do not represent these ancestors of ours as lacking in civilization.

Scholars seem agreed that transmigration is not known to the R̥gveda. Some have even failed to see it in the Brāhmaṇas. According to Professor Hopkins, there is a preliminary sign of it in the Atharvaveda, and it begins to appear in the Brāhmaṇas. However this may be, in the Upaniṣads, even the oldest of them, transmigration seems to be a very generally accepted doctrine,

instead of the new and startling theory that it is generally supposed to be.

We will first examine the two oldest Upaniṣads, and the Kauṣītakī.

Transmigration in the Upaniṣads.

Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad.

Transmigration and karma cannot be regarded as new doctrines in the age of the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad.

1. *Punararmṛtyu* is mentioned often and its conquest indicated as the result of certain forms of *upāsanā*.¹ It is very difficult to understand how, *punararmṛtyu* can be conceived of without *punarjanma* (as Deussen has assumed. See his Chapter on Transmigration in the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads). The desire to free oneself from the chances of recurring death must necessarily come before the wish to avoid rebirth and the latter could very well have been a result of the former. It is, therefore, only natural that we find ways of avoiding repeated death suggested before rebirth also is realized to be an evil that must be avoided. The idea of *punarjanma* must have been presupposed by the idea of *punararmṛtyu* for the one cannot be conceived of without the other.

1-4-15 तस्मादग्नावेव देवेषु लोकमिच्छन्ते ब्राह्मणे मनुष्येषु....आत्मान-
मेव लोकमुपासीत ।

2-1-18 स यत्रैतत्स्वप्न्यया चरति ते हास्य लोकाः....

4-4-22 एतमेव प्रव्राजिनो लोकमिच्छन्तः प्रव्रजन्ति....

2. In the passages quoted above the term '*loka*' is used in the sense of *karmaphala*. This is very significant. It implies both transmigration and Karma. As the result of our Karma we win a world either that of men or of the gods or of the Gandharvas etc.; that is, we become any of these, according to our deeds.

3. That the worlds thus gained are not permanent.

4. That our Karma good or bad will at last work itself out and be exhausted.

5. That only the knowledge or as it is sometimes expressed, the worship of the *ātman* will bring an infinite reward :—these

1. Brh. 1—27 etc. Cf. 4. 4. 19.

: मृत्योः स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति ।

are also ideas that are expressed again and again—not to mention what Deussen has called the “great transmigration text” where also they are spoken of.

1-4-17 यदिह वाप्यनेवंविन्महत्पुण्यं कर्म करोति, तद्वास्यान्ततः क्षीयत एव—आत्मानमेव लोकमुपासीत । स य आत्मानमेव लोकमुपास्ते न हास्य कर्म क्षीयते—

Yājñavalkya to Gārgī in the Council of Brāhmins.

3-8-10 यो वा एतदक्षरं गार्ग्यविदित्वा अस्मिँल्लोके जुहोति यजति तपस्तप्यते बहूनि वर्षसहस्राणि अन्तवदेवास्य तद्भवति ।

In another place, Yājñavalkya, in expounding the doctrine seems to be quoting the words of an earlier authority.

4-4-6 प्राणान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य यत्किंचिह करोत्ययम् । तस्माल्लोकात्पुनरैति अस्मै लोकाय कर्मणेति ॥

Three worlds are mentioned, that of men, of the fathers and of the gods, and in 1. 5. 16 it is said that the first is to be gained by a son, the second by Karina, (in the special sense of sacrifices and good deeds) and the third by knowledge. Prof. Deussen says of this passage that it “knows nothing as yet of a transmigration, unless it is to be considered a protest against the new upstart dogma.” But transmigration need not necessarily imply a coming back as well as a going forward.

According to Prof. Deussen, transmigration was new to the Upaniṣads. It was unknown to the R̥gveda. The Vedic texts on which the Upaniṣads try to base the theory are construed in an artificial manner to make them convey the new doctrine. Of these the first text is¹ “I was once Manu, I was the Sun” where Vāmadeva alleges his acquaintance with these former births of his. The Ait. Up. also quotes a Vedic text of Vāmadeva’s to prove a third birth—after death. Prof. Deussen is of opinion that neither of these quotations is correctly interpreted. “In the first Indra glorifies his magical power, in the second is depicted the cunning hawk of Indra already in his mother’s womb as he leaves his fortified place in order to fetch the Soma from heaven.” It is, however, to be remarked here, that “Indra” in the Upaniṣads generally stands for the Self. The Upaniṣadic interpretation of these texts appeared to be in accordance with some traditional and accredited method that was in vogue during this

1. Brh. 1. 4. 10 from R. V. IV. 26-1. Ait. 2-4.

period.¹ Then, as now, vedic interpreters had to supply missing links and deal with symbols and technicalities—a modern writer² says “The history of the modern interpretation of the R̥gveda is the story of various attempts to penetrate its secret.” It is doubtful whether we are justified in treating the Upaniṣad interpretations as artificial and fanciful in comparison with modern translations.

The third quotation is³ (Deussen’s translation)

“Two paths have I heard there are for men—

The way of the fathers and the way of the gods.

On the latter everything meets.

That moves between the father and the mother.”

Cf. Hume’s translation.

“Two paths I’ve heard—the one that leads to fathers

And one that leads to gods—belong to mortals.

By these two every moving thing here travels”

(The last line in Deussen’s translation is incorrect.)

“That is between the Father and the Mother.”

It is addressed to Agni and is also given a forced interpretation here, according to Deussen. Being found in a hymn to Agni, celebrating him in his twofold character as Sun by day and fire by night, Deussen says “it can hardly be doubtful that by the two ways—day and night are to be understood and the passage is to be rendered—‘I have heard from my forefathers that there are two ways alike for gods and men.’ ”

In the Brāhmaṇas also where the idea of a repeated death (*punarmṛtyu*) and of the perishableness of good deeds is frequently found, Prof. Deussen fails to see anything more than suggestions that were probably the germs of the transmigration theory. It was only in the Upaniṣads that these ideas were for the first time transferred from an imaginary future world to the present, and this takes place first in the teachings of Yājñavalkya.

1. See the interpretation of R. V. I. 116—12 and R. V. I. 117—22 in Br̥h. Up. 2. 5. 16 and 17.

2. Griswold. R̥gveda, p. 77.

3. Br̥h. 6-2-2 द्वे सुती अशृण्वं पितृणामहं देवानामुत मर्यानाम् । ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत् समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं चेति । quoted from R. V. X, 88—15.

The origin of the doctrine is to be observed in the Yājñavalkya sections of the Bṛh. Up. together with its motives. These sections are the discussion with Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga¹ and the instruction of Janaka. The *pañcāgnividyā*² is a later and a secondary product because it combines two theories (the two path doctrine and the five fires doctrine) in an inconsistent manner, and the eschatology of Yājñavalkya is confused with the traditional vedic doctrines of future recompense, and results in the teaching of an illogical "double retribution", of which no trace is found in the teachings of Yājñavalkya. It is also to be noted that the text of the *pañcāgnividyā* is to be found only in a Khilakāṇḍam in the Bṛh. Up. and may therefore be supposed to have been unknown at the time of the collection of the Madhu and Yājñavalkya Kāṇḍams. Moreover the account in the Chāndogya, Deussen thinks, shows an advance on the parallel account in the Bṛh. Up.³

There are reasons for disagreeing with all these conclusions.

The tradition has been preserved in more than one place⁴ that Uddālaka Āruṇi, to whom Jaivali expounds the Five fires doctrine in both the Bṛh. and Chāndogya accounts, was an elder contemporary and teacher of Yājñavalkya. We are not justified in setting aside this tradition, on flimsy grounds. Accordingly the *pañcāgnividyā* could not have been unknown at the time of the collection of the first two parts of the Bṛh. Up. It is included in the Khilakāṇḍa probably because it is not directly derived from Yājñavalkya himself. The Chāndogya account of the instruction of Uddālaka by Jaivali not only does not show a further advance on the account in the Bṛh. Up. but appears to be much earlier.⁵

Deussen says that the eschatology in Bṛh. Up. 6. 2 and Chānd. 5. 3-10, is different from that in Yājñavalkya's instruction of Janaka in Bṛh. 4. 4. In the former as well as in the latter there is no question of the "double retribution" about which Deussen speaks. This is evident from a comparison of the passages in question. Bṛh. 6. 2. and 4. 4. & Ch. 5. 3. 10.

1. Bṛh. 3. 2. & 4. 4.

2. Bṛh. 6. 2. Ch. 5 & 3—10.

3. Deussen p. 337.

4. Bṛh. 3-7, 6. 3. 7, 6. 5. 3. and in the Śat. Brāh.

5. See Chāndogya Up. "Transmigration".

In Brh. 6. 2¹ and Ch. 5. 3. 10² an Upāsana, is taught, in Brh. 4. 4³ the truth on which such an Upāsana is based is taught. To say that in the latter "the sphere of transmigration is extended through the worlds of men, fathers and Gods up to Prajāpati and the Personal Brahman, that consequently the worlds of the fathers and the worlds of the God cannot be set apart as according to the later theory, for a recompense by the side and independent of that by transmigration" involves a distinction without a difference, by reason of which a great deal is assumed. There is no idea of a "double retribution". Some deeds may require recompense in heavenly world, some in this world. As the fruit of each set of deeds is exhausted we enter upon another state.

यावत्संपातमुषित्वा (Ch. 5-10) and तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैति (Brh. 6. 2. 6) refer to this, and do not imply that on earth the same deeds are rewarded or punished over again. There are no clear grounds for assuming with Deussen that in Yājñavalkya's eschatology the soul *transmigrates* into the worlds of the fathers, Gandharvas and Gods etc., while in the *pañcāgnividyā* it only *receives recompense* in those worlds and transmigrates into this.

The verse in Brh. Up. 4. 4. प्राप्यान्तम्...⁴ with which Yājñavalkya closes his instruction about the transmigrating soul is translated by Deussen thus:—

1. Brh. 6. 2. 6.. मासेभ्यः पितृलोकं पितृलोकाच्चन्द्रं ते चन्द्रं प्राप्य अन्नं भवन्ति तांस्तत्र देवा यथा सोमं राजानं आप्यायस्वापक्षीयस्वेत्येवमेनांस्तत्र भक्षयन्ति तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैति अथेवमेवाकाशमाभिनिष्पद्यन्त आकाशाद्वायुं.....लोकान्प्रत्युत्थायिनस्त एवमेवानुपरिवर्तन्ते ।

2. Ch. 5. 3. Having gained the moon तं देवा भक्षयन्ति—तस्मिन् यावत्संपातमुषित्वाऽयैवमेवाध्वानं पुनर्निवर्तन्ते यथेदमाकाशं आकाशाद्वायुं.....

3. Brh. 4. 4. 3. तद्यथा तृणजलायुकातृणस्यान्तं गत्वा अन्यमाक्रममाक्रम्यात्मानमुपसंहरति एवमेवायमात्मेदं शरीरं निहत्य अविद्यां गमयित्वाऽन्यमाक्रममाक्रम्य आत्मानमुपसंहरति ।

4. 4. 4. तद्यथा पेशस्कारी पेशसो मातामपादायान्यन्नवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं तनुत एवमेवायमात्मेदं शरीरं निहत्य अविद्यां गमयित्वा अन्यन्नवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुरुते, पित्र्यं वा गान्धर्वं वा प्राजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वा अन्येषां वा भूतानाम् ।

4. प्राप्यान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य तर्हि चेह करोत्ययम् । तस्माल्लोकात्पुनरैति अस्मै लोकाय कर्मणे !

“ He who has arrived at the final goal
Of the deeds which he here commits,
He returns from yonder world again
Back to the world of work.”

The difference between “arriving at the final goal of the deeds committed here” and “enjoying the fruit of action” of which Deussen makes so much is not very clear. Śaṅkara's rendering of प्राप्यान्तम् as मुक्त्वाफलम् is quite in keeping with the context and there is no reason why it should be set aside.

It is in that part of the *pañcāgnividyā* which has been called the two paths doctrine as distinguished from the five fires proper, that Deussen finds that intermingling of two different sets of ideas which results in its teaching of a “two-fold recompense” and accounts for certain inconsistencies which he has pointed out within the *pañcāgnividyā* itself. Śraddhā in the “five fires”¹ is the “motive for the return to earth” while in the “two paths”² it leads to Brahman without return. The inconsistency here is imaginary, Śraddhā being used in different senses in the two passages.

6. 2. 9. असौ वै लोकोऽग्निर्गौतम.....तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्नग्नौ देवाः
श्रद्धां जुहति ।

6. 2. 15. ये चामी अरण्ये श्रद्धां सत्यमुपासते त अर्चिरभिसंभवन्ति....
ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः ।

The difference in eschatology which Deussen sees in the two paths of the *pañcāgnividyā* is not due to the combination of two different theories, but to the fact that the “five fires” stops where the “two paths” begins. The “five fires” is the downward curve of the *Pitṛyāna* (perhaps the beginning of the dark fortnight) which has its culminating point in the felicity in the moon and the translation into the food of the gods and it ends with the offering of the body in the fire of cremation.³ From

1. Brh. 6. 2. 9.

2. Brh. 6. 2. 15.

Brh. 6. 2. 16..... एवमेनांस्तत्र भक्षयन्ति । तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैत्यथेसमाका-
शमभिनिष्पद्यन्त आकाशाद्रायुं वायोर्वृष्टिं वृष्टेः पृथिवीं ते पृथिवीं प्राप्यान्नं भवन्ति ।
ते पुनः पुरुषाग्नौ हूयन्ते ततो योषाग्नौ जायन्ते कोकान्प्रेत्युत्थायिनस्त एवमेवानुपारे वर्तन्ते ।

that fire arises the *puruṣa* who is *bhāsvavaravarnah* and journeys either by the *Devayāna* or the *Pitryāna*.

The chief text is, therefore, the development of a single theme, an *Upāsana* which is based on the doctrine of transmigration alone. It does not attempt an impossible alliance between two such conflicting theories about the life beyond death, as are represented by transmigration and Karma and the theory of eternal retribution for the deeds of one short life which is ascribed to the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. The two parts of the "Chief text" are inseparable. When Deussen says of the "five fires" that it depicts how the soul, after it has journeyed to heaven on the burning of the corpse, returns thence immediately, as it seems, through the three regions of the Universe, Heaven, Atmosphere, and Earth, and through the bodies of father and mother, these being the five transit stations, to a new existence, he finds himself under the necessity of adding the words 'after it has journeyed to heaven' without the authority of the text, and supplementing the theory with the latter half of two paths doctrine in order to complete its eschatology. It is said that transmigration was a new doctrine in the Upaniṣadic period, presumably not known or acceptable to all the thinkers of the day, on account of its daring and revolutionary nature, because the texts themselves appear to treat it as a mystery not to be lightly disclosed. In Brh. Up. 3. 2. in answer to Ārtabhāga's question 'Where is the man after his *prāṇas* and body are absorbed into their elements and his *ātman* into the *ākāśa*, Yājñavalkya says:—"Take my hand, Ārtabhāga, my good Friend, we two only will know of this, this is not for use in public." and in the accounts of the instruction of Uddālaka Āruṇi by Jaivali in the Brh. and Chāndogya Upaniṣads, Jaivali teaches the *Vidyā* after some persuasion, and points out that it had never been known to a Brāhmin before.

In the former case even assuming that they step aside to discuss a secret doctrine, and not as Śaṅkara suggests to come to an important subject by themselves, it is not transmigration that is chiefly involved but a far more subtle and dangerous theory. It is clear from the preceding questions¹ that transmigration is known to Yājñavalkya and his questioner. 'Since everything here is food for death, who, pray, is that divinity for whom death is food?' and the answer that the fire of death is overcome by

1. Brh. Up. 3. 2. 10.

the water (of knowledge) and he who knows this escapes another death.

The next question is about the liberated soul.¹ The answer describes in mystical language what is not to be described. Mokṣa according to Yājñavalkya, is not a becoming. In these questions it is implied that two different states after death are known and acknowledged, Mokṣa and a state in which we come again and again under the sway of death, and which is put an end to by knowledge. The form of the third question (the fifth in the series) and the concluding words of the text do not point to transmigration but to the discussion of a far more subtle theory. The point involved is Karma which, from the nature of Yājñavalkya's conception of the Ātman and Mukti, may be said to be the sole thing that survives death—and is itself annihilated by knowledge.²

If their going apart was to discuss a new and dangerous theory, what could have been more strange at that distant period than this fullfledged doctrine of the later Advaita. Yājñavalkya's teacher and elder contemporary, Uddālaka himself does not appear to have gone beyond the pantheism that is described in Brh. Up. 3. 8. There was no doctrine more open to misconstruction and more dangerous in its effects if misunderstood. When the body and mind with all the organs dissolve back into its elements *and the ātman into space* what then becomes of the person? that is the question. It would almost seem that the preceding question also has reference to the same matter and is turned aside by Yājñavalkya. It is then put again and cannot be evaded.

There are other indications in the Brh. Up. that it was not transmigration, but the real character of Mokṣa and the Absolute Brahman (in the Advaitic sense) that engaged the thinkers of the time, and forms the burden of Yājñavalkya's message—See Brh. 4. 1. and 2—where after having elicited the different Upāsanās that other teachers had given to Janaka, Yājñavalkya considers

1. Brh. Up. 3. 2. 11.

2. See Bhandarkar—Peep into the Ancient History of India. See also Hume. "In Brh. Up. 3. 2. 13 it is stated that after death the different parts of a person return to the different parts of nature from whence they came, that even the soul (ātman) goes into Space, and that only his Karma, or effect of work remains over. This is out and out the Buddhist doctrine." p. 6. The thirteen principal Upaniṣads.

him prepared for the highest instruction and asks, 'Whither when liberated hence will you go?' and goes on to speak of the individual Ātman and its identity with the Absolute Brahman and concludes by saying "you have attained fearlessness."¹ His words in 4. 4 are clearer, when he says of the man who does not desire.² His breaths do not depart. *Being very Brahma*, he goes to Brahma..... In the space within the heart lies the ruler of all..... He does not become greater by good action, nor inferior by bad action.....³

In Yājñavalkya's instruction of Maitreyī we find no mention of the transmigration of the Soul. We know that it was known to Yājñavalkya and he would have told it to Maitreyī if it had not been already familiar to her. We cannot conceive of any reason why he should withhold it from his wife to whom he ventures to explain his absolute Brahman and his theory of liberation that is so like to annihilation that she exclaims in bewildered surprise—He trusted her to find her way alone within that dim borderland between untruth and empirical truth where all the greatest metaphysical truths are won, and would surely not have withheld from her the doctrine of transmigration and Karma, without which indeed his teaching cannot be understood. The verses too, by which Yājñavalkya questions the Brahmins of Jānaka's assembly, prove that rebirth is known to them.⁴ His question is based not only upon the doctrine, but upon its general acceptance by the assembled Brāhmins.

As for the episode of the "Five fires" section in which the great Gautama Āruṇi seeks instruction from the King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, it is not the doctrine of transmigration but an Upāsana based upon that, that is the subject of Jaivali's teaching.

1. See Deussen on this passage.

2. Brh. 4. 4. 6.

3. Brh. 4. 4. 22.

4. Brh. Up. 3. 9. 27. (4, 5, 6.)

4. यद्वृक्षो वृक्षणो रोहेति मूलान्नवतरः पुनः ।

मर्त्यः स्विन्मृत्युना वृक्षणः कस्मान्मूलान्नरोहेति ॥

5. रेतस इति मावोचत जीवतस्तत्प्रजायते ।

धनारुह इह वै वृक्षो अञ्जसा प्रेत्य संभवः ॥

6. यत्समूलमावृहेयुर्वृक्षं न पुनराभवेत् ।

मर्त्यः स्विन्मृत्युना वृक्षणः कस्मान्मूलान्नरोहेति ॥

See the questions in both versions.

(a) Brh. Up. 6. 2. 2. ... How people on deceasing separate in different directions.

Ch. Up. 5. 3. 1. ... Do you know the parting of the two ways, one leading to the gods and one to the fathers.

(b) Brh. Up. ... Do you know how they come back again to this world.

Ch. Up. ... Do you know how they return again.

(c) Brh. Up. ... Know you why yonder world is not filled up with the many who continually thus go hence?

Ch. Up. ... Do you know how yonder world is not filled up?

(d) Brh. Up. ... Know you in which oblation that is offered, the water becomes the voice of a person, rises up and speaks?

Ch. Up. ... Know you how in the fifth oblation water comes to have a human voice?

I have taken only the 4 questions that are the same in both Upaniṣads. None of these certainly shows that the doctrine of rebirth was itself unknown—rather the contrary.

About the questions (c) one thing is noticeable. Appearing the same in both versions it is answered differently in the two Upaniṣads. In the Brh. Up. it is answered by the theory of the waxing and waning moon brought into relation with the ascent and descent of souls, and in the Ch. Up. by assigning insects and other fleeting creatures to a third place and excluding them from a life after death. The parallel accounts of the Brh. Up. and the Ch. Up. will be fully discussed elsewhere.

Transmigration and Karma are known to the Chāndogya Up. also, not alone to the *pañcāgnividya* section which has been called the chief text for the doctrine. The term *loka* in this Up. too is often used

in the sense of *karmaphala*. In 2. 23. 1 *amṛtatvam* and *punya-loka* are contrasted.¹

The transitory nature of the world won by those who do not possess the highest knowledge indicated in 7. 25. 2 also, which says they are possessed of क्षय्यलोकाः.²

An advanced stage of the doctrine is proved by 8. 1. 6 and the text that immediately precedes it.³

This world is called the *karmajita* and heaven is called the *punya-jita loka*. Karma here must mean the mixed Karma that wins our world while the purely good Karma wins the heavenly world. That world also the Upaniṣad emphatically asserts is fleeting like the world of our experience and therefore not to be desired.⁴ Only the true knowledge frees one from the sway of Karma. The fires having instructed Upakosala about the Person in the Sun, the Moon and the lightning, his teacher says to him 'Verily they have told you the world. I will tell you that by knowing which sin will not adhere to you, as water does not adhere to a lotus leaf,' and then speaks of the Person in the Eye who is the Immortal Fearless Brahma. He who knows this goes by the *Devapatha* to Brahma without return.

1. Ch. 2. 23. 1. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयो अत्यन्तमात्मानम् आचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति ॥

2. Ch. 7. 25. 2. अथ ये अन्यथातो विदुः अन्यराजानस्ते क्षय्यलोका भवन्ति ॥

3. Ch. 8. 1. 5, 6. यथा ह्येवेह प्रजा अन्वाविशन्ति यथानुशासनं यं यमन्तमभिकामा भवन्ति यं जनपदं यं क्षेत्रभागं तं तमेवोपजीवन्ति ॥

तद्यथेह कर्मजितो लोकः क्षीयते एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यजितो लोकः क्षीयते ॥

4. Ch. 4. 15. 5, 6. लोकान्वाव किल सोम्य तेऽवोचन् अहं तु ते तद्वक्ष्यामि यथा ऋक्पलाशः आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवं विद्धि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति ब्रवीतु मे भगवानिति तस्मै होवाच । य एषो अक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यते एष आत्मेति होवाच एतदमृतमयमेतद्ब्रह्मेति तद्यद्यप्यस्मिन् सर्पिर्वोदकं वा सिञ्चति वर्त्मनी एव गच्छति एतं संयद्राम इत्याचक्षते..... अथ यदु चैवास्मिञ्छव्यं कुर्वन्ति यदि च न अर्चिषमेवाभिसंभवन्ति अर्चिषोहः.....follows a description of the *Devayāna* agreeing with the Chānd. account 5.3. 10 in details एतेन प्रतिपद्यमाना इमं मानवमावर्तं नावर्तन्ते ॥

In the light of these unmistakeable evidences that the Chāndogya as a whole knew and was familiar with the doctrine of transmigration and Karma the following passages are also significant.

Ch. 1. 6. 8. तस्य (of the Person in the Sun) ऋक् च साम च गेष्णौ तस्मादुगीथस्तस्मात्वेवोद्गातैतस्य हि गाता स एष ये चामुष्मात्पराञ्चो लोकास्तेषां चेष्टे देवकामानां चेत्यधिदैवतम् ॥

1. 7. 6. स (the Person in the eye) एष ये चैतस्मादर्वाञ्चो लोकास्तेषां चेष्टे मनुष्यकामानां चेति तद्य इमे वीणायां गायन्ति एतं ते गायन्ति तस्मात्ते धनसनयः ॥

1. 7. 8. अथ य एतदेवं विद्वान् साम गायति उभौ स गायति सोऽमु-
नैव स एष ये चामुष्मात्पराञ्चो लोकास्तांश्चाप्नोति देवकामांश्च ॥

1. 7. 9. अथातेनैव ये चैतस्मात्पराञ्चो लोकास्तांश्चाप्नोति मनुष्यकामांश्च ॥

He who sings the *sāman* knowing it to be identical with the Person in the Eye and the Sun, wins the worlds that lie beyond the latter and god's desires, and also the worlds that lie below the latter and the desires of men. 1. 8. 4; 5. 7.

1. 8. 4.—*Sāman* goes back to *Svara*, to *prāṇa*, to *annam*, to *āpas*, to *asan loka* which goes back to this world (1. 8. 5) which goes back to space (Jaivali 1. 8. 7.).

1. 13. 1. *Atha* equals moon, which is food (on it everything is established). 2. 2. 1; 2; 3.

The ascending and descending order of worlds—(earth, fire, atmosphere, sun, sky)—(but see 2. 17. 1; 2. 10. 1; 5.).

2. 10. 1.¹ One should reverence the *ātmasaṁmitam Sāman* as leading beyond death.

2. 10. 5. With the twenty-one syllables one wins the Sun which is the twenty-first from here—beyond it lies heaven which is without sorrow.²

1. Ch. 2. 10. 1. खलु आत्मसांमितमतिमृत्यु सतविधं सामो-
पासीत... ॥

2. Ch. 2. 10. 5. एकविंशत्या आदित्यमाप्नोति एकविंशो वा इतो-
असावादित्यो द्वाविंशेन परमादित्याञ्जयति तन्नाकं तद्विशोकम् ॥

3. 14. 1. The Śāṇḍilyavidyā—speaks of man as *Kratu-mayah*—according to the purpose he has in this world, *thus does he become on departing hence*.¹

The Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad preserves a fragmentary version of Ch. 5. 3 and Brh. 6. 2; but in it, it is not the "Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad. "Five fires" doctrine that is expounded but Brahma knowledge and the means of escaping from transmigration by one who has heard this instruction. Transmigration in Kauṣī. Up. 1 is extended to all beings as it already was in the Brh. Up. and waning moon is clearly brought into relation with the ascent and descent of souls. The Kauṣī. Up. does not describe the return of the souls to earth. It only describes with a wealth of allegorical detail, the journey of the liberated from the moon onwards to the world of Brahma. The stages of the journey are the same as those mentioned in Tait. Up. 1-6, with some additions, and do not materially differ from those mentioned in both versions of the "Five fires" doctrine. Only one detail is noticeable. When the aspirant to Mokṣa crosses the *viṣarū* river in the Brahma world, he shakes off his good and evil deeds. 'His dear relatives succeed to his good deeds—those not dear to the evil.' This shows a rooted conviction of the indestructibility of the deed, but is far enough removed from the origin of the doctrine for the inconsistency implied in the good or evil of one man's deeds adhering to others to pass unnoticed.

In the Tait. Up. the main theme is the Brahman-Ātman concept, and it therefore only describes the journey of the liberated soul in the terms of its own doctrines, through the stages of food breath, mind and understanding, on to the Ānandamaya Ātman. Taittiriya Upaniṣad.

The Ait. Up. derives its authority for the doctrine of rebirth from the Ṛks of Vāmadeva. Brh. Up. also quotes the same Ṛṣi as its authority for the doctrine. Aitareya Upaniṣad.

The reference in Māṇḍ. 2. 1. 5 is to the *pañcāgnividyā* "tasmādagñiḥ samidho yasyasūryaḥ somāt parjanya, oṣadhayaḥ, pṛthivyām Mūṇḍaka Upaniṣad.

1. Ch. 3. 14. 1 अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुरस्मिन्ललाके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति स क्रतुं कुर्वीत ॥ What follows is significant too.

pumān retah siñcati yoṣitāyām
bahvīḥ prajāḥ puruṣāt samprasūtaḥ.

See also Maitrī. Up. 6. 37.

The offering fitly cast in fire
Arises up unto the sun
From out the sun rain is produced;
From rain, food; living creatures thence.

The Praśna Upaniṣad. (1. 9. 10) also speaks of the lunar world won by good deeds and attained by the Southern course, and of the world of the Sun attained by the Northern path, from which there is no return. This section is evidently derived from the "Five fires" section of the Br̥h. Up. and the Chāndogya. An obscure Ṛk of the Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas is quoted as the Vedic authority.

The Śve. Upaniṣad. 6. 2. calls the world Karma.
Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. teneṣitam karma vivartateha,
prthivyaptejo 'nilakhāni cintyam.

Good deeds lead to the heavenly world, bad deeds to an evil world, and mixed deeds to the world of men. See Praśna 3. 7. also 5. 2.

Praśna Up. 3. 7.—athaikayorūrdhva udānaḥ puṇyena puṇyam
lokam nayati, pāpena pāpam
ubhābhyāmeva manuṣyalokam.

See also Maitrī. Up. 6. 30 (Cp. Br̥h. 4. 4. 9; Ch. Up. 8. 6. 6).
Maitrī Upaniṣad. Speaking of the rays of the Ātman in our heart,

" Aloft arises one of these
Which piercing through the Sun's round disk,
On to the Brahma world extends:
Thereby men go the highest course.

What are its other hundred rays
Are similarly upwards ranged;
Thereby unto the various gods'
Abiding places one arrives.

But by its feebly shining rays
Which manifoldly downward lead,
One roams about here helplessly,
For the consuming of his deeds."

In Muṇḍ. (1. 2. 10) there is a mention of three worlds, heaven, this world and a lower.

iṣṭāpūrtam manyamānā variṣṭham nānya cchreyo veda-
yante pramūḍhāḥ !

Nākasya prṣṭhe te sukr̥te 'nubhūtvemam lokam hīna-
taram vā viśanti.

Already in the Chāndogya and Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣads good deeds as well as bad lead to a return to the world, and only knowledge and austerity lead to the world from which there is no return. So also in the Tait. Up. 2. 4. in Pratardana's Inner Agnihotra, there is an attempt to escape the perishableness of good deeds, (perishable because they are *Karmamaya*) by the unending involuntary oblations of breath and speech. In Yājñavalkya's teaching the absence of all desires is postulated as the cause and condition of liberation.

In the attempt to attain this desirelessness, attention was directed more and more to the transitory nature of the world. Happiness and worldly prosperity and even enjoyment in higher worlds become unworthy objects of human endeavour. But the value of good deeds is still as high as ever. They purify the mind and fit us for the highest truth. Therefore the Kaṭha. Up. unhesitatingly declares

nāvīrato duṣcaritānnāśānto nāsamāhitaḥ;
nāśāntamānaso vāpi prajñānenainamāpnuyāt.

Kaṭha Up. 2. 24.

But good actions also should be performed without any desire for their fruits.

parācaḥ kāmānanuyanti bālā-
ste mṛtyoryanti vitatasya pāśam;
atha dhīrā āmṛtatvam viditvā
dhruvamadhruveṣviha na prārthayante.

All acts bear fruit, and to enjoy these we are born into a higher or lower world or into this world. As long as there is life we are performing actions either good, bad or indifferent. To free ourself from this vicious circle of *samsāra* only action without attachment is possible.

When are liberated all
The desires that lodge in one's heart,
Then a mortal becomes immortal
Therein he reaches Brahma.

Accordingly Īśa advocates work without any desire (Īśa 1. 1. 2.).

Another means of attaining liberation comes more and more into prominence in the later theistic Upaniṣads—devotion to God conceived as the Lord of the world, with every good attribute. The stainless white radiance of a Being without attributes is gradually eclipsed by the warm light of a God who guided and sustained his devotees.

The one who rules over every single source,
In whom this whole world comes together and dissolves
The Lord, the blessing-giver, God, adorable,
By revering Him, one goes for ever to this peace.

In Brh. Up. 4, 3. 33 *Karmadevas*, and *Ājñadevas* are spoken of, the latter being superior. Of the former the Upaniṣad says they are those who attain the state of *devas* by Karma 'Ye *karmanā devatvam abhi sampadyate*' and the commentary on *Ājñadevas* is '*Ājñataḥ utpattitaḥ ye devāḥ*'. In Taittirīya Up. 2. 8. in a similar context three different orders of *devas* are spoken of, *Ājñadevas*, *Karmadevas* and *devas* proper. It is noticeable that here the *Karmadevas* are superior to the *Ājñadevas* while the *devas* proper are higher still. Śaṅkara in his commentary on this passage explains the terms thus "*ājñā iti devalokaḥ, tasminnājñāne jātāḥ ājñajā devāḥ-smārta karma viśeṣato devasthāneṣu jātāḥ*" Of *karma devāḥ* the Upaniṣad itself says that they are those who *karmanā devān apiyanti* and the commentator adds, *ye vaidikena karmanā agnihotrādinā kevalena devān apiyanti* and of the *devas* that they are the *trayastrimśat havirbhujāḥ*. In the Brh. Up. passage and its elaboration in the Taittirīya Up., as well as in the possibly later development that is shown in Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* we note the belief in two main classes of *devas-devas* by karma as opposed to *devas* by creation as such. This is not consistent with the Karma doctrine. Deussen has observed in another context that "the ancient element in religious faiths is wont to assert its traditionally consecrated right side by side with conceptions of later origin" and this appears to be an instance of such a survival.

(To be continued.)

ŚAKA-PALLAVAS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

BY

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CHAPTER I.

IN ANCIENT TIMES.

The Purāṇas unanimously tell us that some time after the death of Arjuna Kārttavīrya, the Haihayas grew in power and subdivided into five groups, the *Vitihotras*, *Sāryāhas*, *Bhojas*, *Avantis* and *Tuṇḍikeras*, all of whom were Tālajaṅghas and conducted a series of raids into the heart of Āryāvartta. When they attacked Ayodhyā they were joined by the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pallavas from the North-west. Bāhu, king of Ayodhyā, was driven from his throne; he took refuge in the forest-hermitage of the *Aurva Bhārgava Ṛṣi*, called Agni, where Bāhu's posthumous son Sagara was born. These foreign tribes settled in the country. They were admitted into the ranks of the Kṣatriyas and Atharvanidhi Āpava, the contemporary head of the ancient Vasiṣṭha family of Ṛṣi priests who resided in Ayodhyā was the priest who assisted at the *Vaidika* rites performed by these Aryanized foreigners. Twenty years after these events, Sagara attained manhood, defeated the Tālajaṅghas and regained Ayodhyā. He determined to exterminate the foreign tribes; but Atharvanidhi, who was their patron and belonged to the Vasiṣṭhas who were the *purohitas* of the Ayodhyā royal house, ever since its foundation, a thousand years previously by Ikṣvāku, intervened and Sagara spared their lives, but compelled them to grow their beards and reduced their status to that of inferior Kṣatriyas. Sagara lived 44 royal generations¹ before the Bhārata battle (XV century B. C.) and allowing the modest figure of 20 years for a generation, the time of these events will come to the XXIV century B. C.

¹ Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* Pp. 207, 267-270, where all the relevant *Purāṇa* passages are referred to.

Now some people regard it as great historical *Puṇyam* to discredit the testimony of the *Purāṇas*, simply because some incredibly absurd legends have got mixed up with them. We do not disbelieve Herodotus 'the father of profane history,' because he talks of men with heads hanging from their armpits, but we apply the critical method to his testimony and separate fact from fiction as the swan is said to separate milk from water, and the same method ought to be applied to the *Purāṇas*. All points about which the *Purāṇas* unanimously testify were taken over from the *Purāṇa Samhitā* (*Mūlasamhitā*, *Ādipurāṇa*) compiled (*cakre*) by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana at the time of the Mahābhārata war from pre-existing *Ākhyānas*, *Upākhyānas* and *Gāthās*, coming down from very ancient times and taught by him to his disciple, Romaharṣaṇa. Hence the historical chapters of the *Purāṇas* after critical treatment, ought to be regarded as contemporary testimony, the only defect of it being that this contemporary testimony was not written then and there but was propagated orally and subject to the corruptions of tradition orally handed down. Manu refers to these tribes and says that they were originally Kṣatriyas and became degraded by not performing the sacred rites.¹ Some modern scholars will reject the above incidents as fiction and say that when Sanskrit writers came in contact with the Śaka-Yavana-Pallavas in the II century B. C., they invented this tale and inserted it into the *Purāṇas*. It is difficult to believe that they should have given the benefit of their ingenuity to Sagara alone of all ancient kings; sometimes the scepticism of critical scholarship is stranger than the credulity of the unhistoric mortal. It may, also, be said in criticism of the *Paurāṇika* account that there is no independent proof of the existence of Śakas, Yavanas and Pallavas in those early times. It is true that these tribes did not rise in those days to the degree of culture which is necessary to cause the rise of literature among them, but that is no reason why the testimony of the Indians, who were highly advanced in these days, with regard to their existence should be disbelieved. Surely people lived even in those early days in Śakadvīpa, on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor and in Parthia and it is not inherently impossible that they were called Śakas, Y (J) avanas, and Pallavas (Parthavas). In fact there is really no reason except preconceived prejudice to disbelieve the *Paurāṇika* account. Is it reasonable

1 Manu. IX. 43-44.

to demand double evidence (Indian and foreign) when by the very necessities of the case it is impossible to have the corroboration of foreign evidence? Pāṇini (VII cent. B. C.) alludes to the Yavanas and Darius (VI cent. B.C.) mentions the Śakas. Is it proper to infer from this that these tribes existed only when they were mentioned and on this bad inference to refuse to accept as true the *Paurāṇika* references to them?

Before closing this discussion it may be pointed out that the *Itihāsas* do tell an absurd fable that these tribes were created by Vasiṣṭha's cow (*Kāmadhenu*) to help her master to fight with Viśvāmitra. We can easily see that here Āpava Vasiṣṭha was confounded with his ninth ancestor Devarāj Vasiṣṭha the opponent of Viśvāmitra and the fable tacked on. If obvious fables can be eliminated from the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas*, the History of the age of the Ṛṣis can be recovered and it is the task of historic criticism to separate the chaff from the grain in these ancient books, and it is not commendable caution but intellectual cowardice to refuse to do so. We have the definite statement in the *Purāṇas* that the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas entered India from beyond the Northwest in the age of Bāhu and we ought to accept it till it can be proved that there could not have been tribes of those names outside India in those ancient times.

These foreigners settled in Ayodhyā and were absorbed in the Indian population. Various instances of the contact of the Vedic Āryas with western Asia are mentioned in my *History of India* and these make the above incident less improbable than it would be if it were the sole reference to such contact. There are several references in the Vedic *mantras* to foreign contact, but some scholars try to argue them away, because they have made up their minds *a priori* that Vedic India was rigidly isolated from the rest of the world. Thus in R. V. vi. 27. 5 and 6 an anonymous Ṛṣi speaks of Abhiyāvartī Cāyamāna's fight with the Vṛcivans and refers to the battles of Hariyūpiyā and Yavyāvati, which places have a decidedly Iranian look and in vi. 27. 8. acknowledges to have got two wagon-teams with damsels and twenty oxen, as the fee of the Pārthavas (*Dakṣiṇā Pārthavānām*). R.V. vii. 83. 1. speaks of *Pr̥thuparśavah* (the Parthians and Persians), translated by some, to avoid acknowledging the foreign allusion, as 'armed with broad axes'. Ninditāśva of R. V. viii. 1. 30. is decidedly a Perso-Parthian name, cf. Viṣtaspa, father of Darius,

Aspavarmā, a Pallva general, etc. So too Tirindira the Parśu of viii. 6. 46 ; here no ingenuity can turn Parśu into 'an axe'. In X. 33. 2., there is a reference to the defeat of Kuruśravaṇa by the Parśus, though some would translate the word as 'ribs.' The references are too many to be explained away as not probable. In A. V. V. 22. 5, 7, and 9 fever (*takman*) is ordered to go to the Mūjivantas, Mahāvṛṣas and Bālḥikas. The last refers to the people of Bactria, whose capital is still Balkh. The cumulative effect of these references strengthens the case of those who plead that the Vedic Indians were not tightly bottled up in India. If we remember that what is now called Afghanistan was till the X century A.D. a part of India and that ancient Bhāratavarṣa and Pārasika were contiguous countries, lack of intercourse between the two countries would be strange indeed.

The names of the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pallavas, along with Kāmbojas and Daradas occur in the *Mahābhārata* frequently. Now I admit that the Great Epic as we have it, is a composite work in which are embedded poetic narratives and treatises of a period later than that of the Great War. But I hold that there is no shadow of reason to discredit the tradition that Vyāsa or under his direction, Vaiśampāyana (whom Āśvalāyana calls Mahābhāratacārya) composed the core of the epic, *i.e.*, the story of the war and therefore that portion of the poem ought to be treated as contemporary testimony. In that story the Śakas, Yavanas and Pallavas (also spelt Pahlavas) are mentioned in several places as Northwestern tribes who fought on the side of Duryodhana. As they are also Mlecchas, these people mentioned in the Mahābhārata were not the Indianized foreigners of Sagara's time who must have been completely absorbed in the Indian population, but tribes who lived beyond the Hindu Kush and the Persian border ; the date of the Mahābhārata war being circa XV century, these people were all by that time merely Mlecchas, *i.e.*, foreigners. But there is evidence that wandering hordes began to gravitate towards India some time after the great war, their taking part in it being the immediate motive power that led to that migration.

A Yavana tribe became permanently settled in what we now call the Northwest Province, on the hills round the Suvāstu (Swāt) valley. Alexander found at Nysa on these Northwestern hills, "probably on the lower spurs of the three-peaked Koh-i-Nor" people who told him "that they were descendants of the

western people who had come into those parts with their God Dionysius ; for Dionysius, the Greeks believed had gone conquering across Asia at the head of his revellers in the old heroic days."¹ There is no reason to disbelieve this statement of the historians of Alexander, who were practically his contemporaries; but modern scholars like V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India* (Chapter III) and Bevan, the author of the chapter on Alexander's invasion of India in the *Cambridge History of India* (Chapter XV) try to make out that Alexander for reasons of policy pretended to believe the false claim of the Nysæans and enlisted them in his army. The modern Scholar disbelieves in the Yavana heredity of the Nysæans, merely because he has *a priori* come to the conclusion that Alexander's men were the first body of Greeks to enter India, whereas Pāṇini in the VII century B. C. (or with those who are anxious to postdate him, in the IV century B. C., certainly before Alexander's time) explained the formation of *Yavanānī* with reference, as Kātyāyana says, to their *Lipi* (writing). But the contact of India with these foreign tribes before the IV century B. C., did not noticeably affect the course of Indian History.

CHAPTER II,

MISCONCEPTIONS,

In the VI century B. C. the Parthavas were living in the satrapy of Viṣṭaspa (Hystaspes) and when Dāryavush (Dareios) his son, became emperor of Persia, their country became one of the many provinces which he ruled. Greek and Latin writers called them Parthians and in Sanskrit Parthava became Palhava, Pahlava and lastly Pallava. The change of *R* into *L* is a commonplace of Sanskrit phonology ; the weakening of *TH* into *H* is illustrated by the well-known equations, *Mithra* = *Mihira* *Mithradates* = *Meherdates*. The name of the Śakas was Sakas, and the change in their name was very slight. The ancient Greeks, whose knowledge of geography was most nebulous first applied the name *Skuthoi* to the wandering tribes who lived near the Black Sea. They did not regard it as a racial name, but used it to indicate the nomadic culture of certain ancient Europeans and Asiatics. The Roman borrowed the word in the form Scythian and designated by it the people who lived outside the region occupied by the civilized races of antiquity, *i. e.*, the

¹ *Cambridge History of India* I. P. 353-4.

Romans, the Greeks, the Persians and Indians. "The term Scythic is not, strictly speaking, ethnical. It designates a life, rather than a descent, habits rather than blood."¹ Modern European and Europeanized Indian scholars apply the term to Śakas, Pallavas, the Yuehchi and the Kuns and have confused themselves and others by still further inventing the term Indo-scythian and applying it to all these different people from the time they reached India and speak of an 'Indo-scythian period of Indian History'. It will tend to clarity if we call them by the names of Śakas and Pallavas, or of Śaka-Pallavas, as by the time when Indian History had any concern with them they were a mixed-up, joint race. The fact that these two tribes were so intimately amalgamated with each other as to have become one for all purposes is implied by Kātyāyana's illustration of *Śakapūrthiva* (to which phrase a mistaken derivation and meaning were given in later times) as an instance of a compound made of nouns in apposition (*Samānādhikaraṇe*).² The original Parthava (Pallava, Parthia) country declared its independence (c. 250 B.C.) and the great Parthian kingdom was founded by a king who called himself Ar-saka. The Jaina work called *Kālakācārya Kathānaka* says that the Śaka kings were called *Sāthāṇusāthi*, which was just the title used by the Great Parthian kings, and "this Pallava title is in harmony with the constant association of Śakas and Pallavas"³ in India. Indeed the only means we have of deciding whether a person who figures in Indian History belonged to the Śaka tribe or the Pallava tribe is the consideration of the etymology of the personal name. F. W. Thomas after a study of (1) "the names occurring on coins (2) names occurring on the Mathruā Lin capital (3) some names occurring in other inscriptions" with the help of etymological and other linguistic indications and of actually recorded facts, helping to distinguish the provenance of the names,⁴ concludes the study with the remark that as some names are of mixed origin, and as in some instances "there appear to be names from both sources belonging to members of the same family, we must admit that it is hopeless to base any distinction of nationality upon such nomenclature. In fact the evidence of these names, as far as it goes, is

¹ Rawlinson. *Sixth Or. Mon.* P. 20.

² *Vārt.* on *Pāṇ.* II. i. 60.

³ J. R. A. S. 1906, P. 204. Dr. Thomas.

⁴ *Ibid* P. P. 208, 214.

in agreement with the close association of Śakas and Pallavas which seems to be indicated by the Indian references."¹

The author of the *Periplus*, a guide to the Indian ocean ports, written in the latter half of the I century A. D. refers to this unity of the Śakas and Pallavas, when he describes the "coast district of Scythia" *i.e.*, the region near the mouth of the Sindhu under Śaka-rulers as being "subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out".² The evidence of coins confirms this conclusion. The earliest "Śaka" coins exhibit Parthian characteristics—such as the use of the title *basileus basileon*, King of Kings, copied from the coins of the Parthian monarch, Mithridates I³. Dr. Rapson says, "the difficulty of distinguishing the the Scythian (Śaka) and Parthian (Pallava) dynasties in India during the period is well-known. The proper names afford the only means of making a distinction between them, and a consideration of these supplies no certain guide, since names derived from both sources are applied to members of the same family."⁴ Speaking of the relations between the dynasties of Moga, supposed to be a Śaka and Onona, "the Parthian appearance" of whose name "is most striking", he says, "it is certain that the dynasties of Maues (Moga) and Vonones (Onona) were intimately connected, and it is difficult to separate them so far as to call the former Śaka and the latter Parthian. The difficulty is, perhaps, to be explained by supposing the existence among the Śakas of this period of a strong Parthian element. Vonones strikes coins together with Azes (Aya), the successor of Maues (Moga); what the exact relations between these two ruling families of Śakas or Śaka-Parthians were, it is impossible to say."⁵ The difficulty is really caused by the *a priori* notions, (derived from a study of Greek and Latin books) about 'the Scythians' and 'the Parthians' being distinct races or nationalities and by separating 'Indo-scythians' from 'Indo-Parthians'. To avoid the difficulty Sir John Marshall calls the occupation of Takṣaśilā by these people the "Śaka and Pallava epoch."⁶

¹ *Ibid* P. 215.

² S. 38, tr. Schoff.

³ Rapson, *Indian coins*, Pl. 1 15.

⁴ *Cat. Ind. Coins Anohras etc.*, Introd. P. XCIX n. 1.

⁵ *Ind. Coins*. S. 30-31.

⁶ J. R. A. S. 1915 P. 196.

Dāryavush Viṣṭaspa, whose name we are familiar with in the doubly distorted form of Darius Hystapes, speaks of three divisions of Śakas who lived under his rule. Of these only two concern us, (1) the Śaka Tigrakhanda, whose home was in the country of the Jaxartes (Syr Daria) and (2) the Śaka Haumavarka whose home was the Persian province of Drangiāna, the country of the river Helmand, the boundary between Ancient India and Ancient Persia. This district was known in Indian inscriptions at Śakasthāna, which became in Persian Sijistān, the modern Seistān. Śakasthāna lay in the path of the age-long commercial intercourse between India and the west, both by land through Baluchistan and by sea hugging the Mahrān coast to Persia and Babylonia. Therefore the Śakas were in intimate touch with India by land and by sea. The *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa* speaks of a Śāmbha, son of Kṛṣṇā, to *Sakadvīpa*, beyond the sea of salt water and of eighteen families of sun-worshippers accompanying him on his journey back to India¹. There was since that time a colony of these people in Surāṣṭra; and since they came from Śakasthāna these settlers in Surāṣṭra (and later in Mālava) were always called Śakas, whereas, those that ruled in other parts of India from Gāndhāra to Kāñcīpura, were usually called Pallavas. In the third century B.C. the Governor of Surāṣṭra, then a province of the empire of Aśokavardhana, was a Pallava of the name of Tuṣāspa². Rudradāma, four hundred years later, called this man a *Yavana*, but by that time the word *Yavana* had come to be used loosely, first for Turuṣkas, then for foreigners, as it was another six hundred years later used for Muhammadans generally. Hence it is clear that Śaka-Pallavas, on account of the contiguity of Śakasthāna to India, settled in this country from very early times.

The Śaka-Pallavas came early under the influence of Indian religious culture, for Śakasthāna was immediately contiguous to India. In Gāndhāra, then a part of India, Siva-worship Vāsudeva-worship, the monastic cults of the Buddha and Jina were prevalent ever since they began to eclipse the pure

¹ J. R. A. S. 1915. P. 426. Spooner quoting from Wilson. The passage, as printed in Kiriell's *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*. P. 480. ss. 25-28, though the result of much collation is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Wilson's Mss. if available, may throw light on it.

² *Aspa* in the names of Viṣṭaspa, Tuṣāspa, Aspavarmā, etc., is the analogue of Sanskrit (*asva*, horse.)

Vaidika cult of antiquity, and, being less exclusive than the latter, spread among foreigners. Indian cults and socio-religious polity were not so rigorously walled in then as now. They spread to the East as far as the borders of China and civilized the South-eastern mainland and the East Indian islands. In the west a colony of Indians was established in remote Armenia during the rule of the Arsakid (Śaka-Pallava) monarch Vālarshak (149-127 B.C.) and temples of Gisanī (Kṛṣṇā) flourished till they were razed to the ground by the militant zeal of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the IV century A.D. and the heads of the priests and temple servants were shaved and they were transported to a distant place¹. Heliodorus, son of Dion, *Yonadūta* (Yavana ambassador) of Antalikitā (Antalikidas) king of Takṣaśilā, to the court of Kāśīputra Bhāghabhadra Suṅga (c. 100 B. C.) was a *Bhāgavata* (worshipper of Vāsudeva) and built a stone *Garuḍadhvaja* at Besnagar, near Bhilsā (Vidiśā)². Nandasī-Akasā, wife of a Śaka-Pallava *Mahākṣatrapa* Rājūla, erected a *stūpa* and monastery for Bauddha monks at Mathurā, and dedicated them "for the honour of all Śakasthāna"³. Śaka *rājās* supplanted the rule of the Mauryas in Surāṣṭra and Mālava in the II century B. C. and they were claimed by Jaina monks as their patrons. The Pallavas of Kāñcīpura from the earliest times adopted Śiva's bull and his *Khaṭvāṅga* (club) as their emblems. These Śaka-Pallavas wherever they ruled in India, succeeded the previous rulers without any catastrophic changes of administration and ruled as Hindu *rājās*; this they could not have done if they had not entirely absorbed Hindu culture in their own homes.

Some Scholars have held that the movement of the Śaka-Pallavas into India was first caused by a chain of events which took place in central Asia. There lived the Hūnas (Hiung Nū), to stop whose frequent inroads into China the Chinese Emperors built the Great Wall. In the neck of country between the Great Wall and the mountains lived a Turuṣka (Turki) tribe called by the Chinese by the name of the Yueh-chi C. 165 B.C. The Hūnas attacked the Yueh-chi and drove them out of their homes. These latter in their migration westwards in search of pastures now came upon the tribe of Wu-sum, whom they defeated and whose king

¹ J. R. A. S. 1904, pp. 309-314.

² *Arch. Sur. of India*, 1808-9, pp. 128-129.

³ *Ex. Ind.* IX P. 147.

they slew. They continued their journey, became divided into two divisions, the Little Yueh-chi, who went south and settled on the borders of Tibet and the Great Yueh-chi who went on west till they came in touch with the Sea—the Śaka Tigrakhanda, a branch of the Śakas who inhabited the region round the Jaxartes. The Śakas, thus disturbed from their homes, could not get into Gāndhāra, which was then under the rule of the *Yavana* adventurers from the empire of Seleucus, the general of Alexander, who after the great conqueror's death became the ruler of his Persian dominions. So these Śakas went west to Herāt and then south to Seistān, and this led to a stream of Śaka invasion into India. This stream started at the end of the II century B. C., but this string of events was the cause of the *last* movement of the Śaka-Pallavas into India. For long before it they had begun to settle themselves in this country.

Vincent A. Smith has introduced many misconceptions in his account of the Śaka-Pallava *Rājās* in North India in chapter IX of his *Early History of India*. First he speaks of Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians as if they were two separate people. Secondly he makes the Indo-Scythian invasion the result of the movements of the Yueh-chi and makes them enter India 'through the northern passes'. On this, Rapson remarks, "the alternative suggestion that the Śakas may have come into India from their northern home in the country of the Jaxartes through Kāśmīr involved a physical impossibility. The geographical difficulties of this region are such that an invasion from this direction of tribal hordes or armies sufficiently powerful to overwhelm the *Yavana* kingdoms and to conquer the whole of the N. W. Frontier Province and the Pañjāb is inconceivable"¹. V. A. Smith makes the coming of the Pallavas into India the result of "the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsākidian king, Mithridates I, a very able monarch (C. 171. to 136 B. C.), who was for many years the contemporary of Eukratides, king of Bactria, succeeded in extending his dominions so

¹ *Cambr. Hist. of India*; i. p. 563. It is strange that scholars forget this argument when they talk of the Āryan invasion of the North-west Frontier Province and the Pañjāb, moving, it must be remembered, with wives and children and with herds of cattle, at a time when the Pañjāb was the seat of an advanced chalcolithic culture and of kings who built immense temples and palaces.

widely that his power was felt as far as the Indus, and probably even to the east of that river. I see no good reason for doubting the truth of the explicit statement of Orosius that, subsequent to the defeat of the General of Demetrios and the occupation of Babylon, Mithridates I annexed to his dominion the territory of all the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes, or Jihlum river. The chiefs of Taxila and Mathurā would not have assumed the pure Persian title of satrap, if they had not regarded themselves as subordinates of the Persian or Parthian sovereign; and the close relations between the Parthian monarchy and the Indian borderland at this period are demonstrated by the appearance of a long line of princes of Parthian origin, who now enter on the scene".¹ This extract is chockful of errors. There is very "good reason for doubting the truth of the explicit statement of Orosius". Rawlinson says, that Mithridates, elated by the success of his arms against Heliocles, the parricide king of Bactria, "is said to have invaded India, and overrun the country as far as the river Hydaspes. (Note. Orosius. v. 5. compare Diod. Sic. XXXIII, 20.) These conquests are somewhat doubtful, since Justin seems to have known nothing of them; but if it be true that his arms penetrated so far, it is at any rate certain that he did not effect any conquest. Greek monarchs of the Bactrian series continued masters of Cabul (Kabūl) and Northwestern India till about B. C. 126 (we now know till about B. C. 40); no Parthian coins are found in this region; nor do the best authorities claim for Mithridates any dominion beyond the mountains which enclose on the west the valley of the Indus". So much with regard to the supposed conquest by Mithridates of India. Now to turn to the second argument. It is true that the Śaka-Pallava rulers of Northern and Western India called themselves Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas (corresponding to the ancient *Mahārājās* and *Rājās* and the later *Mahārājādhirājās* and *Mahārājās*, and indicating greater or lesser power). Those that ruled with Ujjayinī as capital, the kings of the dynasty founded by Caṣṭana (78 A. D., to 388 A. D.), were independent rulers and owed allegiance to no suzerian power whatsoever (notwithstanding the recent ineffectual attempt to connect Caṣṭana with Kaniṣka in the interest of the theory that the latter, a Kuṣāṇa, founded the Śaka era—of which more later.) There is

¹ V. A. Smith. *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 241-2.

nothing to prove that the word *Kṣatrapa* meant, in the two centuries preceding Caṣṭana, a viceroy or a subordinate ruler. In Indian use the word merely referred to a king in his own right, so much so that Indian grammarians whose linguistic orthodoxy was averse from acknowledging the existence of foreign words in the sacred Sanskrit speech, invented for it a Sanskrit etymology, viz., *Kṣatram pātīti Kṣatrapaḥ*, 'he guards the sovereignty, hence he is a *Kṣatrapa*'. Rapson says, "the word is itself a Sanskritized form of the old Persian *Khṣatrapāvan*, 'protector of the land'. (Note. Prākṛt forms are *Khatapa*, *Chatapa*, and *Chatrava*). It appears first in Indian coin-legends and inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C., (in its Prākṛt forms) but has never been found in Sanskrit or Prākṛt literature.¹ But Rapson then adds, "in India, as in Persia, the *Kṣatrapa* was, originally, no doubt, a viceroy of the 'king of kings.' " Notwithstanding the 'no doubt' of this sentence, there is little or no evidence to substantiate the statement. Moreover the meaning of the words in Persian is no concern of ours. The word was introduced into India not by Persians (*Pārasikas*) but by Parthians (*Pallavas*), and therefore it is the meaning of the word among the Parthians that matters. The Parthian "monarchs took the title of 'King of Kings' (*basileos basileon*) so frequent on their coins, which seems sometimes to have been exchanged for what was regarded as an equivalent phrase, satrap of satraps.² (Note. It does not seem unlikely that under the Parthian system the distinct force of the word 'satrap' would be lost and it would be regarded as a title equivalent to a king). If then, 'Satrap' was equivalent to 'king' when used by Parthians in Parthia, it is certainly unwarrantable to hold it to mean 'viceroy', when used by Parthians in India. In most of the cases where the word *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa* occurs in inscriptions there is no indication that the word means anything else than a *rājā* and there is no reference to a superior ruler, overlord or suzerain. Rapson adduces one 'clear instance' of a *Mahākṣatrapa* acknowledging the suzerainty of a king of kings, namely the Sārnāth inscription of the 3rd year of Kaniṣka. In this inscription it is said that a Bhikṣu of the name of Bala erected a bodhisattva statue at Benares with the help of, among others, 'the *Kṣatrapa* Vanaṣpara and Kharapallāna and the four *Paṇḍas*'.

¹ *Sixth. Or. Mon.* pp. 78-79.

² *Cat. Ind. coins.* P. C.

The recorder of the inscription dated it in the Kaniṣka era; the only inferences possible from it are that Sārnāth was then included in the dominions of Kaniṣka and that Bala, the donor of the statue, was a subject of Kaniṣka, and not that the *Kṣatrapa* who helped him was a feudatory of the Kuṣāṇa monarch. The only other case where a king is referred to in a *Kṣatrapa* inscription is the Taxila plate of Pātika, dated in the 78th year of *Maharāya Mahantā Moga*. This has been interpreted as the 78th year of the era used by Moga and scholars have been unsuccessfully hunting for the commencement of the era. Anyhow from the fact that Pātika, the son of a *Chhatrapa* mentions the year of Moga, much cannot be inferred. On the slender thread of the interpretation of the word *Kṣatrapa* as a viceroy hangs the theory of the conquest of India by Mithridates I.

A much more important question has also been tried to be settled on the strength of this interpretation of the word *Kṣatrapa*. The Śaka era, founded and used in Mālava and North India, says F. W. Thomes, "was introduced by Scytho-Parthian satraps, who presumably were adopting an institution of their suzerain" and it was retained in India after the overthrow of the Śakas, "the reason being that it depended upon a third and greater power."¹ What this mysterious 'third power' was has yet to be discovered. Rapson thinks that Kaniṣka the Kuṣāṇa founded the Śaka era, which obtained its name for its being used for three centuries by the Śaka kings of Surāṣṭra who were originally satraps and feudatories of Kuṣāṇas.² But if we clear our minds of the cobwebs of prejudice we can easily discover that the Śaka era was founded by a Śaka. Clear explanation of the meaning of the expression *Śakakāla*, Śaka era, is found in Maṅgaleśa's description of it as *Śakanṛpati-Rājyābhīṣeka-samvalsara*, the year of the coronation of the Śaka King.³ We know that Caṣṭana the Śaka *rājā* was crowned king at Ujjayinī in the year 78 A. D. and his successors dated their inscriptions and coins with that date as year 1 for three centuries and more. The use of the era gravitated south and it was taken up by the Cālukyas and others till it has become the universally used era of South India. It has nothing to do with Kaniṣka and was never used in North India.

¹ J. R. A. S. 1913. P. 635.

² *Ancient India*, P. 147.

³ *Ind. Apt.* vi. p. 362 (burgess).

Rawlinson tells us that the Parthians "combined great military prowess and vigour with a capacity for organization and government."¹ It has already been pointed out that Aśoka recognized the administrative capacity of the Parthians by appointing Tuṣāspa as the viceroy of his richest province. The government of the Śaka-Pallavas was effective, as is further proved by the facts that the rule of this dynasty continued for more than three hundred years, longer than is usual with Indian dynasties, and that under these kings foreign trade flourished so that Ujjayinī became the entrepot of the trade between various parts of India and Alexandria. Brāhmaṇas from Ujjayinī resided in Alexandria. Indian culture spread west on account of them, and Greek culture was brought by them to India, as will be seen later. Rawlinson also tells us that "the Parthians never to any extent amalgamated with the conquered races, but continued for centuries an exclusively dominant race encamped in the countries they had overrun".² This was exactly the case in South India. It took more than seven centuries for the Pallavas to become Tamilized and three centuries more to become merged in the native population.

Such were the people who established their dominion in the last two pre-Christian and the first two post-Christian centuries from Ārachosia in the extreme north-west to the Tondaimaṇḍalam in the extreme southeast.

¹ *Sixth. Or. mon* P. 25.

² *Sixth. Or. mon.* P. 25.

STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

BY

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(Continued from page 301 of Vol. III, J. O. R. M.)

II

It was shown in the preceding article that our Ālaṅkārikas, as well as modern critics, recognize that the contents of a poet's imagery have as much to do with the pleasure we derive from it as its form. The study of these contents, is, however, beset with many difficulties. The most important of them all is their extraordinary richness and variety. The sources of poetic imagery are virtually inexhaustible. They are co-extensive with the universe. The only possible limitation is the limitation of the poet's genius and experience. A gifted poet can compare any two things in the world. He can see resemblance where our eyes fail to detect any. Nor does he follow any fixed rules in the choice of the contents of his images. The thing compared, the object to which it is compared and the point of comparison—all follow the needs of the occasion and nothing more. To analyse and classify the sources of a poet's imagery, is, to say the least, a laborious task.

As in the case of the other poets of India or for the matter of that, of the world, external nature forms the chief source of the imagery of Vālmiki. Mountains and rivers, birds and animals, trees and forests, all the infinite variety of creation provides innumerable points of comparison to our author. So do the celestial bodies like the sun and the moon, the stars and the planets figure constantly in the descriptions and speeches of the Rāmāyaṇa. Equally prominent in the imagery of the poet are the natural phenomena of the sky, thunder and lightning, clouds and rain, rainbows and comets. Closely connected with nature is religion as a source of imagery. This is natural as epic religion is only a development of Vedic religion, which, as every one knows, is essentially a worship of the powers of nature personified. Not only do the higher gods like Indra, Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, but a host of minor gods and semi-divine beings, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and similar beings play an

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important part in the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. They form a world of their own, a world not absolutely inaccessible to man, but inhabited by beings who communicate often with men and interfere in their lives and *vice-versa*. If Indra, the god, helps human beings to win battles against their enemies, Daśaratha, the human King, also goes to help Indra in his fight against the Asuras. There is no very clear line of demarcation between our world and the world of gods and demi-gods. A god can become a man and a man can turn into a god according to his deeds and even without any such transformation, there is constant communication between the two worlds.

It is not merely religion considered as a body of conceptions which is a rich source of imagery to the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, but its ritualistic side also occasionally furnishes a comparison or two. Thus, when Bharata returns to Ayodhyā, the city is all silent like an altar after the sacrifice is over, empty of all sacrificial utensils and abandoned by the priests¹. Sometimes, though very rarely, the poet turns to scholarly traditions for his comparisons. When Hanumān sees Sītā in the Aśokāvana, in a state of extreme distress, devoid of all ornaments, looking very different from what she should, she is compared to a word which expresses a meaning different from its real one, when it is deprived of its correct grammatical form². Equally rare are images of an abstract nature, drawn from the subjective experience of man. To quote an example or two, Sītā in distress is compared to Hope baffled³, to Faith destroyed⁴, to Wisdom in decay⁵, and to an Order disobeyed⁶. In this connection, one might also mention a few figures drawn from sea-life, though they are also quite rare. Thus Sītā in distress is like a boat in the middle of the ocean, buffeted by the winds⁷.

1. त्यक्तां यज्ञायुधैः सर्वैरभिरूपैश्च याजकैः ।
सुन्याकाले सुनिवृत्ते वेदिं गतरवामिव ॥ II—114-8.
2. दुःखेन बुबुधे सीतां हनूमाननलंकृताम् ।
संस्कारेण यथा हीनां वाचमर्थान्तरं गताम् ॥ V—15-39.
3. आशां प्रतिहतामिव । V—19-11.
4. विहतामिव च श्रद्धाम् । V—15-33.
5. प्रज्ञामिव परिक्षीणाम् । V—19-11.
6. आशां प्रतिहतामिव । V—19-12.
7. वायुवेगैरिवाक्रान्तां मज्जन्तीं नावमर्णवे । III—55-4.
IV—5

The rarity of the images drawn from these latter sources does not cause any particular surprise. What strikes one, however, is the extraordinary scarcity, amounting almost to complete absence, of comparisons drawn from ancient legends and heroic tales. While works like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have been a prolific source of imagery to later writers, one would think, while reading the Rāmāyaṇa, that no heroic literature existed at all before it. Countless, indeed, are the occasions when the characters of the Rāmāyaṇa could have been compared to heroes of old, but instead, they are likened to gods and demi-gods, rivers and mountains, birds and beasts. The difference in this respect, between the Rāmāyaṇa and the later works may be illustrated by the following passage from the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghōṣa. The occasion is the advice of Udāyī to Gotama who shows indifference to the pleasures of love. Udāyī mentions the names of great people who set much value by such pleasures. He says :—

कामं परमिति ज्ञात्वा देवोऽपि हि पुरंदरः ।
 गौतमस्य मुनेः पत्नीमहल्यां चक्रे पुरा ॥
 अगस्त्यः प्रार्थयामास सोमभार्यां च रोहिणीम् ।
 तस्मात्तत्सदृशं लेभे लोपामुद्रामिति श्रुतिः ॥
 औतथ्यस्य च भार्यायां ममतायां महातपाः ।
 मारुत्यां जनयामास भरद्वाजं बृहस्पतिः ॥
 बृहस्पतेर्महिष्यां च जुह्वत्यां जुह्वतां वरः ।
 बुधं विबुधधर्माणं जनयामास चन्द्रमाः ॥
 कालीं चैव पुरा कन्यां जलप्रभवसंभवाम् ।
 जगाम यमुनातीरे जातरागः पराशरः ॥
 मातङ्गयामक्षमालायां गर्हितायां रिरंसया ।
 कपिञ्जलदं तनयं वसिष्ठोऽजनयन्मुनिः ॥
 ययान्तिश्चैव राजर्षिर्वयस्यपि विनिर्गते ।
 विश्वाच्याप्सरसा सार्धं रेमे चैत्ररथे वने ॥
 स्त्रीसंसर्गं विना शान्तं पाण्डुर्ज्ञात्वापि कौरवः ।
 माद्रीरूपगुणाक्षितः सिषेवे कामजं सुखम् ॥
 करालजनकश्चैव हत्वा ब्राह्मणकन्यकाम् ।
 अवाप भ्रंशमप्येव न तु त्यजेच्च मन्मथम् ॥

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एवमाद्या महात्मानो विषयान् गृहितानपि ।
रतिहेतोर्बुभुजिरे प्रागेव गुणसंहितान् ॥

B. C. IV—72-81.

Such passages, full of allusions to old heroes are hardly ever met with in the Rāmāyaṇa.

So much for the sources of Vālmiki's imagery. Another question which constantly arises in our minds while reading the Rāmāyaṇa is: how far is the imagery found in the work the product of Vālmiki's own imagination and how far is it just his literary inheritance? A very large number of images found in the Rāmāyaṇa are found in the Mahābhārta also and one feels they would be found in other works of a similar nature and of the same period, if we could but see them. With regard to these, one feels that they are not anybody's property in particular, but belong to the people as a whole. They must have occurred frequently in the ordinary speech of the people and probably do so even now. They can all be explained by reference to human nature and the character of the country in which Vālmiki and other poets lived. They are of a very simple nature and involve only the most obvious and conspicuous attributes of things visible to anybody and not only to the poet of gesniur. The fact that they are found in other works than the Rāmāyaṇa has to be explained and it seems to me that rather than assuming borrowal on the one side or the other, it would be safer to refer them all to a common source, namely, popular imagination and tradition. It would be a very long task to make a complete list of such images but, for the purposes of illustration, I am giving a few of them, taken from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārta, in which there are similar situations, giving rise to similar images. Thus, in both, a man's voice is compared to the roaring of clouds¹; in both, one trembles like a *kadalī* shaken in the wind²,

1. दुन्दुभिस्वरकल्पेन गम्भीरेणानुनादिना ।

स्वरेण महता राजा जीमूत इव नादयन् । R. II—2-20.

यदि मां मेघनिर्घोषो नोपगच्छति नैषधः ।

अद्य चामीकरप्रख्यं प्रवेक्ष्यामि हुताशनम् ॥ M. Bhā. III—7-11.

2. कम्पमानेव कदली वातेनाभिसमीरिता ।

कृष्णा राजानमासाद्य शोक्रार्ता न्यपतद्भुवि । M. Bhā. X—11-7.

सीता प्रवेपितोद्वेगात् प्रवाते कदली यथा ॥ R. III—2-15.

Damayantī separated from Nala and Sitā Separated from Rāma are both very distressed and in their distress, they are likened to a lotus-bed spoiled by an elephant with all its leaves and lotuses pulled out, and its birds frightened away¹, or they are compared to a dried-up river², or to the moon hidden by black clouds. In both, a place that has lost its original beauty or greatness is compared to a lake devoid of its snakes³, or an empty wine jar!

The list can be indefinitely lengthened. As to the other question, namely, when are we to know that an image is the product of Vālmiki's own imagination, the answer is not easy to give. To say positively that it occurs nowhere else than in the Rāmāyaṇa would necessitate a very laborious research and one is not quite certain that the result would be quite decisive. Mere presence or absence of an image in other works than the Rāmāyaṇa would be no proof of its popular origin or otherwise. Here we shall have to rely more on the nature of the image itself. Popular images are likely to be of a simple nature. Complex images are likely to be the products of particular minds. There are also some images which are not exactly complex, but so striking, so beautiful, so peculiar that one feels they cannot have mere popular origin. One feels that not everybody can think of them. I realise that the test is rather subjective, but I also feel that in some cases at least, it is an unfailing test. When we are told that some one is as tall as a tree, or as huge as a mountain, or as lustrous as the sun, or as swift as the wind, or as deep as the ocean, we are not taking any undue risk in declaring that these are popular images, that we cannot say who thought of them first, that they are part of the literary heritage of all writers. But when we read in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, in the course of a description of the rainy season, that the sky appears love-sick, with gentle breeze for its sighs, the red lustre of sun-set for its sandal paste

1. विध्वस्तपर्णकमलां वित्रासितविहंगमाम् ।
हस्तिहस्तपारीकृष्टां व्याकुलामिव पद्मिनीम् ॥ M. Bhā III—65-20.
उत्कृष्टपर्णकमलां वित्रासितविहङ्गमाम् ।
हस्तिहस्तपरामृष्टामाकुलामिव पद्मिनीम् ॥ R. V—19-15.
2. पतिशोकाकुलां दीनां कृशस्रोतां नदीमिव । M. Bhā. III—65-19.
उपश्रीणामिवापगाम् । R. V—19-14.
3. गतोत्सवं पुराषिव हृत्तनागमिव हृदम् । M. Bhā. IX—63-5.
मृदाहृदमिवाक्षोभ्यं सुपर्णेन हृत्तोरगम् । R.

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and with its pale clouds¹, or that the mountains are like Brahmācārins, for they have dark clouds for *kṛṣṇājina*, streams of water for sacred thread and their caves are filled with wind, which is their *prāṇāyāma*², or that the sky seems to be in agony, for it groans in the form of thunder when it is lashed with golden whips in the form of flashes of lightning³, we may be certain we are dealing with the products of Vālmiki's own imagination. These are instances of continued metaphors, or metaphors worked out in detail and though an element or two in each metaphor may be of a popular nature, the combination of the different elements into a whole is the work of the poet. Thus, when we read that the night looks like a woman dressed in white silk, with the moon for face, stars for eyes, and moonlight for white silk⁴, the identification of the moon with the face is only the reversal of the well-known identification of the face with the moon. These complex metaphors are not always so pretty as those given above. Sometimes one feels that identifications are made merely for the sake of symmetry and therefore lose their charm. Thus there is a laborious and rather ingenious identification of a battle-ground with a river, in which the dead heroes are identified with banks, broken arms with great trees stream of flood with water, Death with the ocean into which it falls, liver and spleen with mud, scattered entrails with weeds, broken limbs and heads with fish, vultures with swans, herons with *sārasa* birds, human fat with foam etc. etc.⁵. This detailed

1. मन्दमारुतनिश्वासं सन्ध्याचन्दनरञ्जितम् ।
आपाण्डुजलदं भाति कामातुरमिवाम्बरम् ॥ R. IV—28-6.
2. मेघकृष्णाजिनधरा धारायज्ञोपवीतिनः ।
मारुतापूरितगुहाः प्राधीता इव पर्वताः ॥ R. IV—28-10.
3. कशाभिरिव हैमीभिर्विद्युद्भिराभिताडितम् ।
अन्तस्तनितानिघोषं सवेदनमिवाम्बरम् ॥ R. IV—28-11.
4. रान्तिः शशाङ्कोदितसौम्यवक्त्रा
तारागणोन्मीलितचारुनेत्रा ।
ज्योत्स्नांशुकप्रावरणा विभाति
नारीव शुक्लांशुकसंवृताङ्गी ॥ R. IV—30-46.
5. हतवीरौघवप्रां तु भग्नयुधमहाद्रुमाम् ।
शोणितौघमहातोयां यमसागरगामिनीम् ॥

metaphor may not rank high as poetry, but it can certainly not be of a popular origin. It is not merely such complex images which must be considered the poet's own creation. There are some others which are so striking that it is difficult to believe that they were just current coin among all poets. I cannot find better illustrations of this than some of the images descriptive of Hanumān's flight across the sea in the Sundarakāṇḍa. The arms of flying Hanumān, stretched out in the air with their five fingers, looked like five-headed snakes issuing out of mountains¹. His copper-coloured face with its copper-coloured nose looked like the sun reddening at the time of its setting². Flying Hanumān, with his white teeth and his tail encircling him looked like the sun with a halo round it³. The wind rushing past his armpits roars like a cloud⁴. Now diving into clouds and now coming out of them, he looked like the moon in its course across the Sky⁵. In his flight, he seemed to swallow up the sky, to scratch the moon, to carry the sky away with him with all its stars and the sun⁶.

यकृत्प्रीहमहापङ्कां विनिकीर्णान्त्रशैवलाम् ।

भिन्नकायशिरोमीनामङ्गावयवशाद्वलाम् ॥

गृध्रहंसवराकीर्णी कङ्कसारससेविताम् ।

भेदःफेनसमाकीर्णामावर्तस्वननिःस्वनाम् ॥

तां कापुरुषदुस्तरां युद्धभूमिमयीं नदीम् ।

नदीमिव घनापाये हंससारससेविताम् ॥

राक्षसाः कपिमुख्यास्ते तेरुस्तां दुस्तरां नदीम् ॥ R. VI. 58. 29-33.

1. तस्याम्बरगतौ बाहू ददृशाते प्रसारितौ ।

पर्वताग्रादिनिष्क्रान्तौ पञ्चास्याविव पन्नगौ । R. V—1-54.

2. मुखं नासिकया तस्य तामूया तामूमात्रभौ ।

संध्यया समभिस्पृष्टं यथा स्यात् सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥ R. V. 1-58.

3. लाङ्गूलचक्रो हनुमाञ्छुक्रदंष्ट्रोऽनिलात्मजः ।

व्यरोचत मृदाप्राज्ञः परिवेषीव भास्करः ॥ R. V. 1-60.

4. तस्य वानरसिंहस्य प्लवमानस्य सागरम् ।

कक्षान्तरगतो वायुर्जिमूत इव गर्जति ॥ R. V—1-62

5. प्रविशन्नभ्रजालानि निपतंश्च पुनः पुनः ।

प्रच्छन्नश्च प्रकाशश्च चन्द्रमा इव दृश्यते ॥ R. V. 1-80.

6. असमान इवाकाशं ताराधिपमिवोल्लिखन् ।

हरन्निव सनक्षत्रं गगनं सार्कमण्डलम् ॥ R. V. 57-5.

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Thus the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa is partly popular and partly Vālmiki's own creation: It would now be interesting to enquire what the objects of nature which play an important part in the comparisons of the Rāmāyaṇa are and for what reasons. As everybody knows, the work offers us a pageant of heroes and heroic deeds, in which the fortunes of men rise and fall alternately. It abounds in descriptions of men and women in all their physical and moral glory or degradation, when they are flushed with victory or crushed by defeat, when they are fired by courage or shrink in object terror, when they are moved by love or burnt with hatred. What are the objects whose aid is invoked to describe these situations and what particular attributes in these objects attracted the attention of our author?

The Rāmāyaṇa is primarily a story of kings and princes, whether they belong to Ayodhyā or Mithilā or Kiṣkindhā or Laṅkā. Many, therefore, are the occasions when royal splendour and dignity have to be described. Kings and princes shine out from among other men by their royal lustre, power, wealth and heroism. The most natural comparison of a king in all his splendour, and a comparison which comes again and again, is the one with the gods, and particularly with Indra. Indra is the king, *par excellence* in the Rāmāyaṇa¹, and Amarāvati is the *rāja-dhānī par excellence*. The king may be a man, or a monkey or a mere Rākṣasa, but still the comparison is admissible. Daśaratha shines in the midst of other kings as Indra among other gods. All kings, whether Hindu or barbarian, waited upon Daśaratha as the other gods upon Indra². Rāvaṇa was seated amidst his

1. स लब्धमानैर्विनयान्वितैर्नृपैः

पुरालयैर्जनपदैश्च मानवैः ।

उपोषविष्टैर्नृपतिवृत्तो बभौ

सहस्रचक्षुर्भगवानिवामरैः ॥ R. II—1-51.

दिव्यैर्गुणैः शक्रसमो रामः सत्यपराक्रमः ॥ R. II—2-28.

अभिभूतमिदं सर्वं विद्रुतं वानरं बलम् ।

अस्मिन् प्लवगशार्दूले हते शक्रसम्प्रभे ॥ R. IV—19-13.

रथेन रामं महता खरस्ततः

समाससादेन्द्र इवोद्यताशनिः ॥ R. III—26-38.

2. म्लेच्छाश्चर्याश्च ये चान्ये वनशैलान्तवासिनः ।

उपासांचक्रिरे सर्वे तं देवा वासवं यथा ॥ R. II—3-26

ministers as Vāsava among Maruts¹. He shines among Rākṣasas as Indra among Vāsus². Rāma takes the feet of Vasiṣṭha as Indra of Bṛhaspati³. The point of comparison is usually royal splendour, but sometimes 'vīrya', heroism or wealth is mentioned. In regard to the latter, Vaiśravaṇa, of course, is the usual standard of comparison, while Viṣṇu also comes in occasionally for 'vīrya' ⁴. As for intelligence, the analogy is always with Bṛhaspati⁵. Some of the other gods are also occasionally mentioned for their different attributes; thus Rāma is dear to the world as Parjanya with his rain⁶; in battle, he is terrible, like the god of Death with his mouth open⁷; Rāvaṇa surrounded by Rākṣasas is like Rudra surrounded by Bhūtas.

Equally prominent are the comparisons of a king in his splendour with the phenomena of the sky, the sun, the moon and the stars. It is but natural that the most brilliant of all celestial bodies should figure in the description of the most brilliant among men and things. Rāma shines like the sun in autumn⁸, with Lakṣmaṇa, they look like the sun and the moon

1. उपोपविष्टं सचिवैर्मरुद्भिरिव वासवम् ॥ R. III—31-4.
2. स रावणः शस्त्रभृतां मनस्विनां
महाबलानां समितौ मनस्वी ।
तस्यां सभायां प्रभया चकाशे
मध्ये वसूनामिव वज्रहस्तः ॥ R. VI—11 31.
3. पुरोहितस्याग्निसमस्य तस्य वै
बृहस्पतेरिन्द्र इवामराधिपः ।
प्रग्रह्य पादौ सुसमृद्धतेजसः
सदैव तेनोपविवेश वासवः ॥ R. II—104-28.
4. बुद्ध्या बृहस्पतेस्तुल्यो वीर्ये चापि शचीपतेः । R. II—1-32.
(दशरथः) धनैश्च संग्रहैश्चान्यैः शक्रवैश्रणोपमः । R. I—6-3.
विष्णुना सदृशो वीर्ये सोमवत् प्रियदर्शनः । R. I—1-18.
5. बुद्ध्या बृहस्पतेस्तुल्यः । R. II—2-30.
उत्तरोत्तरयुक्तौ च वक्ता वाचस्पतिर्यथा । R. II—2-43.
6. मत्तः प्रियतरो लोके पर्जन्य इव वृष्टिमान् । R. II—1-38
7. अजेयं समरे घोरं व्यात्ताननामिवाम्बरम् । R. III—32-6.
8. विद्यासमुदितो रामः शुशुभे भीमविक्रमः । R. I—22-22.
बृहस्तरश्मिर्भगवान् शरदीव दिवाकरः । R. I—22-23.

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come to earth by chance¹. Rāvaṇa in his splendour looks like the burning sun;² Sugrīva's lustre is like that of the sun³ Laṅkā with Indrajit shines like the sky with the sun⁴. Some of the actions of kings are likened to those of the Sun. Thus Daśaratha enters his palace as the Sun enters the cloud⁵. Lakṣmaṇa enters Sugrīva's palace unobstructed as the Sun enters the cloud⁶. Mahodara, the Rākṣasa, mounts an elephant as the Sun mounts Mandara⁷. The Sun dissipates darkness, clears the fog, dries up water and scorches the earth and so will Rāma dissipate everybody's grief as soon as he is seen⁸, so would Daśaratha remove Kaikeyī's fear⁹, so does grief arising from not seeing Rāma dry up Daśaratha's life¹⁰, and so does grief due to Rāma's departure burn Kausalyā¹¹. It is not merely kings and other outstanding men, who, by their lustre and brilliance, splendour and dignity, invite comparison with the Sun; anything that shines for any reason whatsoever can be so compared. Thus a king's chariot is often likened to the Sun, probably because of the

1. यदृच्छयेव संप्राप्तौ चन्द्रसूर्यौ वसुंधराम् । R. IV—3-13.
2. तेजोबलसमायुक्तं तपन्तमिव भास्करम् । R. V—48-59.
3. ततस्त्विन्द्रजिता लङ्का सूर्यप्रतिमतेजसा ।
रराजाप्रतिवीर्येण द्यौरिवार्केण भास्वता ॥ R. VI—73-16.
4. तानुवाच ततः प्रातान् राजार्कसदृशप्रभः । R. IV—38-8.
5. विलपन् प्राविशद्राजा गृहं सूर्य इवाम्बुदम् । R. II—42—24.
6. सुग्रीवस्य गृहं रम्यं प्रविवेश महाबलः ।
अवार्यमाणः सौमित्रिर्महाभ्रमिव भास्करः ॥ R. IV—33—18.
तं महाभ्रमिवादित्यस्तेजोविस्तृतरश्मिवान् ।
अग्रजस्यातपं वीरः प्रविवेश महाद्युतिः ॥ R. IV—10—7.
7. महोदरस्तु संक्रुद्धः कुञ्जरं पर्वतोपमम् ।
भूयः समधिरुद्धाशु मन्दरं रश्मिवानिव ॥ R. VI—70—124.
8. दृष्ट एव हि नः शोकमपनेष्यति राघवः ।
तमः सर्वस्य लोकस्य समुद्यन्निव भास्करः ॥ R. II—83—9.
9. तत्ते ह्यपनयिष्यामि नीहारमिव रश्मिवान् । R. II—10—40.
10. तस्यादर्शनजः शोकः सुतस्याप्रतिकर्मणः ।
उच्छोषयति वै प्राणान् वारिं स्तोकमिवातपः ॥ R. II—64—67—68.
11. महीमिमां रश्मिभिरुत्तमप्रभो
यथा निदाघे भगवान् दिवाकरः । R. II—43—21.
IV—6

lavish use of gold and precious stones on it¹; So is the royal parasol, probably because of its bright colours and round shape²; So is a throne, for the same reason perhaps as the chariot³; likewise an armour, perhaps because it was kept well polished⁴; also ponds owing perhaps to their shiny water⁵, and lotuses⁶, and palaces⁷, and so many other things. Anything in fact and anybody who distinguishes himself and shines out from others of his own kind can be compared to the Sun.

The Moon plays a role similar to that of the Sun, with, of course, some differences. It stands not merely for brilliance and lustre, but also for purity and clearness. Both men and women are compared to the moon whereas, as far as I know, feminine beauty is never compared to the lustre of the Sun. The army, with Rāma as its leader, looked like the autumn night with the moon⁸. Rāma is loved by everybody like the clear moon. Hanumān, with his troop of monkeys, was like the moon with the stars on a clear night⁹. The comparison of a woman's face to the moon is so common that it does not call for any special remark. The special connection between the moon and joy and cheerfulness must, however, be mentioned. Kaikeyī was full of

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1. ततः सूर्यनिकाशेन रथेन महता नरः । R. III—28—14.
रथेनादित्यवर्णेन । R. III—31—34.
काञ्चनं यानं सूर्यसन्निभम् । R. IV—38—11.
तं रथं सूर्यसंकाशम् । R. II—40—13.
प्रतपन्तमिवादित्यमन्तरिक्षगतं रथम् । R. II—5—13.
 2. तरुणादित्यसन्निभं छलम् । R. III—5—9.
 3. आसीनं सूर्यसंकाशे काञ्चने परमासने । R. III—32—5.
 4. पपात कवचं भूमौ रामस्यादित्यवर्चसम् । R. III—28—18.
 5. तरुणादित्यसंकाशा भान्ति तत्र जलाशयाः । R. IV—43—41.
 6. जले तरुणसूर्याभैः षट्पदाहतकेसरैः ।
पङ्कजैः शोभते पम्पा समन्तादभिसंवृता ॥ R. IV—1—64.
 7. विरराज च तद्वेश्म रश्मिवानिव रश्मिभिः । R. V.—6—40.
 8. सा वीरसमिती राज्ञा विरराज व्यवस्थिता ।
शशिना शुभनक्षत्रा पौर्णमासीव शारदी ॥ R. VI—24—1.
 9. गताम्बुदे व्योम्नि विशुद्धमण्डलः
शशीव नक्षत्रगणोपशोभितः । R. IV—44—16.

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gladness like the digit of the autumn moon¹. The palace became bright with the rays of joy as the sky does with the rays of the autumn moon². Sītā's face in joy shines like the moon, freed from the jaws of Rāhu³. The position of the moon as the brightest celestial body, surrounded by a huge collection of less bright stars marks him out for comparison with anybody who shines out among others of his own kind. Daśaratha enters his palace full of beautifully dressed women and resembling Indra's palace, as the Moon enters the sky full of stars⁴.

Needless to say that the brightness and rapidity of lightning bring it also frequently into the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is also natural that women, with their slim and graceful beauty should be compared to it. These thin, graceful and bright flashes of lightning appear among huge, formless and dark clouds and the contrast did not fail to strike Vālmiki. Also, the wriggling motion of a flash of lightning suggests the idea of a slim beauty trying to get out of the grasp of a giant monster. Vālmiki has made full use of this in his description of Rāvaṇa's ravishment of Sītā and his flight to Laṅkā with her⁵. Again, Menakā bathing in the blue waters of the *puṣkara* lake looked like lightning in the cloud⁶. The same image can come wherever there is a combination of bright and dark things. Rāvaṇa sitting in his shining chariot also looks like lightning in a cloud⁷. Hanumān

1. उत्तस्थौ हर्षसंपूर्णा चन्द्रलेखेव शारदी । R. II—7—31.

2. हर्षराशिभिरुद्योतं तस्यान्तःपुरमावभौ ।
शारदस्याभिरामस्य चन्द्रस्येव नभोऽशुभिः ॥ ?

3. चारु तद्वदनं तस्यास्ताम्रशुक्लयतेक्षणम् ।
अशोभत विशालाक्ष्या राहुमुक्त इवोडुराट् ॥ R. V—35—85.

4. व्यदीपयंश्चारु विवेश पार्थिवः
शशीव तारागणसंकुलं नभः । R. II—5—26.

5. सा पद्मपीता हेमाभा रावणं जनकात्मजा ।
विद्युद्धनमिवाविश्य शुशुभे तप्तभूषणा ॥ R. III—52—24.

6. तां ददर्श महातेजा मेनकां कुशिकात्मजः ।
रूपेणाप्रतिमां तत्र (पुष्करेषु) विद्युतं जलदे यथा ॥ R. I—63—5.

7. कामगं रथमास्थाय शुशुभे राक्षसाधिपः ।
विद्युन्मण्डलवान् मेघः सबालक इवाम्बरे । R. III—35—10.

decked with flowers also appears to be a cloud with flashes of lightning¹.

Fire plays more or less the same role as the Sun and the Moon, except that its burning and destructive character often comes out in the images. To it also is compared anything that is brilliant and shining, whether it be an animate or an inanimate object. Sītā is like the flame of a burning fire². So is Ahalyā³. Soldiers⁴, ascetics⁵, Gandharvas⁶, plants⁷, birds, blood⁸—these are some of the things which are compared to fire, either for their lustre and brilliance, or their destructive power. The consuming nature of grief or sorrow marks it out for comparison with fire⁹ and it is also to fire hidden by ashes that genius or valour in men hidden by their modesty is compared¹⁰.

To be Continued.

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1. बभौ मेघ इवोद्यन् वै विद्युद्रणविभूषितः R. V—1—52.
 2. दीप्तस्येव हुताशस्य शिखा सीता सुमध्यमा । R. III—37—20.
 3. धूमेनाभिपरीताङ्गी दीप्तामग्निशिखामिव । I—49—14.
 4. योधानामग्निकल्पानाम् । R. I—6—21.
 5. आर्भवाद्य मुनिश्रेष्ठं ज्वलन्तमिव पावकम् । R. I—31—3.
 6. कोटयस्तत्र चतुर्विंशद्वन्धर्वाणां तपस्विनाम् ।
वसन्त्यग्निनिकाशानां घोराणां पापकर्मणाम् ॥ R. IV—42—21, 22.
 7. निशि भान्त्यचलेन्द्रस्य हुताशनशिखा इव ।
ओषध्यः स्वप्रभालक्ष्या भ्राजमानाः सहस्रशः ॥ R. II—94—21
 8. निपेतुः शोणितादिग्धा धरण्यां पावकोपमाः । R. III—3—12.
 9. मुखं ते प्रेक्ष्य मां शोको दहत्यग्निरिवाश्रयम् ।
भृशं मनसि वैदेहि च्यसनारणिसंभवः ॥ R. II—104—26.
 10. सूचयन्ति परं तेजो भस्मच्छन्नमिवानलम् । R. IV—11—81.

DEFINITION OF POETRY OR KĀVYA.*

BY

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(Continued from page 348 of Vol. III Pt. IV, J. O. R., M.)

Thus we see that in order to establish pleasure as the chief end and aim of poetry, Abhinavagupta and, following him, Hemcandra go up to the very heavens. But I hesitate to accept their argument. It is not by any reference to heavenly bliss that we should try to prove the pleasurable of poetry. For, is there any branch of our literature, where, in our point of view, the ultimate aim is not enjoyment in the celestial world? Even though the interpretation of Uttuṅodaya is accepted, the difficulty is not in any way lessened. Everything in the world can be connected with earthly convenience at the end; and moreover, we do not see that those, desirous of fame, desire it as a means to achieve another object. Besides, what Hemacandra says in rejecting the two objects of poetry mentioned by Mammaṭa—worldly knowledge and removal of evil—may be equally said of fame. Not only by writing poems, but Śāstraic works as well, men of genius become famous. True, there might have been poets whose object in writing poems was fame and happiness in another world. But it is none the less true that there were many who wrote in order to get a rich reward from kings and chiefs. This nobody can deny. An irrefutable proof of this may be found in the large mass of panegyric work that we now possess in Sanskrit. Similarly, we hear of many poets who have praised gods for dispelling their illness and other misfortunes of various kinds. Though each of these objects of poets and poetry in general, cannot be shown to bear such a strict cause-and-effect relation as would satisfy a Naiyāyika, because it is obtainable by other means as well, and poetry does not always bring it unfailingly yet it is undeniable that particular poets have, as Mammaṭa informs us, achieved these particular

* Thesis is approved by the Madras University for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning.

objects by means of poetry. If the biographies of our numberless ancient poets were accessible to us, it would be seen quite clearly, I am sure, that Mammaṭa is fairly correct in enumerating these several objects of poetry, and that several other objects also may well be added to the list.

From my inclination to accept Mammaṭa's view, with regard to the objects of poetry, however, it should not be thought that I disagree with Abhinavagupta and Hemacandra in ranking pleasure above all the rest. But what I say is, that the pleasure which it is the aim of poetry to produce is not as these authors think the remote pleasure, that is, the pleasure derivable from such objects of poetry as wealth etc.; but only the immediate pleasure—that pleasure, which men of taste enjoy, while hearing the musical, embellished, suggestive and charming language of poets. Hemacandra's own words can by no means mean otherwise :—

सद्यो रसास्वादजन्मा निरस्तवेद्यान्तरा ब्रह्मास्वादसदृशी प्रीतिरानन्दः ।

p. 4.

That the direct purpose of poetry is to produce this pleasure and nothing else can be seen from the fact that it is only through it, that poetry brings wealth, fame etc. An illustration here will not be out of place. Sweetmeats we know serve many purposes. They at once satisfy the weeping children. They are taken as presents when one wishes to appear before an honoured person. And to the confectioner, they become a means of livelihood. But we see that though their remote purposes are many their only immediate purpose is to satisfy the sense of taste. Exactly the same is the case with poetry, except, of course, that it pleases through the ear.

What is said of wealth and other remote objects of poetry mentioned by Mammaṭa and others, equally applies to '*upadeśa*' (instruction). The qualifying phrase 'कान्तासंमिततया' itself makes it apparent that it is with the help of the pleasure it affords, that poetry instructs those for whom it is meant. Instruction alone, independent of pleasure, cannot be an object of poetry; and it is not an object that is invariably attainable through poetry.

In Butcher's opinion, Plato would urge "That in regard to war, generalship, politics, education, which are the main subjects of the poems, we have a right to ask him (Homer) what state

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was ever better governed by his help". It seems to me this is a crucial question. It would be contrary to our own experience to say that poetry with all its enticing delectableness has given to somebody such instruction as is necessary for his well-being, and as can, only with much difficulty, be received from moral or political philosophy and such other branches of knowledge. There are a number of poetic pieces, which cannot even pretend to have an instructional aim. The best example I can point out for this kind of poetry is the Romāvalī-Śataka of Viśveśvara.

Nor does the matter seem to stop here. There appears to be much truth in the objection made by some with regard to poetry that it poisons the young minds, and fills them with immoral ideas; and is likely to lead them to misconduct. We also have a Plato among us in the Ṛṣi who prohibits indulgence in poetry "काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेत्." In repudiating charges of this kind Rudraṭa says —

The poet does not fall in love

With wives of others; nor gives he

Instruction to them: nor tells how

To win their heart, wishing to see

That men always act as he says:

But he relates their doings all

As required by the art of his

And that the learned for to please.

So on his part no fault there is. (XIV—12 & 13).

Rudraṭa seems to go even so far as to justify the lewdness of the hero. He writes—

The hero too his condition

Most dang'rous when he finds to be,

Obedient to a Smṛti,

(Whereof is sinful transgression)

Which bids men themselves save from all,

• Tries, lest he should suddenly fall,

Into the hands of ruin, to sleep

On others' bed (though not so cheap) (XIV—14).

Compare :—"वयं बाल्ये डिम्भान् "

I don't think Rudraṭa has advanced any cogent reason against the charge made. Rājaśekhara's attempt here to vindicate the didactic force of poetry is hardly convincing. He

says¹ that poets describe such things not for men to adopt but to reject. This argument may be left to speak for itself. Sir Philip Sidney speaks of this structure of poetry along with some others, and he says in reply that though there are certainly some pieces of poetry which justify this accusation, yet the fault does not lie with the art of poetry itself, but the abuse of it which some poets make. "But what", says he (38) "shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious? "With a sword," again says he "thou mayest kill thy father, and with a sword thou mayest defend thy prince and country. So that, as in their calling the poets the fathers of lies they say nothing : so in this their argument of abuse they prove the commendation." I am of opinion that a better defence than this can hardly be made. The true fact is well expressed by Sir Philip Sidney. What, however, most concerns us here is that Rudraṭa and Sir Philip Sidney admit that there are poetic creations which are not conducive to moral and spiritual advancement but, on the contrary, treat of such undesirable things as raise amorous and such other base feelings in the hearts of immature readers.

This has a direct bearing upon our enquiry, as it proves that instruction is not a governing principle of the art of poetry. Therefore, though much against the views of the ancient authors like Bhāmaha who speaks of poetry as "mostly instructive"—

भूयसाऽर्थोपदेशकृत्—; Mammāṭa, who says that poetry instructs men pleasingly like their dear love; Strabo who is said to have observed (L. L. p. 176) "That poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy which introduces us early to life and gives us pleasurable instruction in reference to character, emotion, action," and Sir Philip Sidney himself who in his 'Apologie For Poetrie' repeatedly states that the end of poetry is 'delightful teaching' or 'to teach and to delight':—though much against the views of ancient authors like these, we have to adopt conclusively the opinion of Eratosthenes (though, as we are told, Strabo would condemn it) that, "The aim of poetry is always to charm the mind not to instruct."—though doubtless there were poets whose aim was to give pleasant instruction and almost all the first poets of all nations seem to be such :—yet it is equally undeniable that there

K. M. P. 26. The few lines here are almost verbally borrowed by Hemacandra. (*Vide* his *Alaṅkāra-Cūḍāmaṇi* p. 4.) The śloka has here very awful misreadings and a perusal of K. M. will correct them.

are poets in whose works it is impossible to discover a moral aim. The absence of a didactic aim in certain works, however, need not result in their banishment from the domain of poetry. The sword which is meant for defending one's own prince and country does not become other than sword on account of its being abused by one for killing one's own father. The moral philosophers may, as emphatically as they can, insist upon everything, animate or inanimate, being in strict and full conformity with their own precepts and principles. But nature cares little for them and is deaf to their cryings and works out things, according to her own laws and intentions. Are there not in the midst of ourselves, in spite of immense libraries of the sacred teachings and philosophy in our possession, heretics, profligates and other abominable human beings? Are they not, though with a brutal soul, after all, men? In the same way the philosophic critics may lay down rules that a poet's aim should be 'to give instruction, sweetened with pleasure.' But the poets scarcely allow themselves to be restricted by such rules and write according to their own will and pleasure. Nor do we see that, on account of the absence of moral teachings, any piece was ever held unpoetic.

Now, therefore, we arrive at the conclusion that the only direct aim and object of poetry is pleasure and since the efficacy or inefficacy in this direction renders a literary piece fit or unfit for the name of poetry, we may further conclude that pleasure is, besides being the aim and object, the soul, life, standard, criterion, guide, regulator, of poetry. When, thus, the inherent life-giving principle of the art is determined it will be seen that we can hardly have a better definition of poetry than the one given above, which is based on this principle. Now it remains for us to see, of what nature this pleasure is. All the kinds of pleasure, other than that which is derived from literary works, are here excluded by the terms, the 'word and sense', put into the definition. So the question now to be answered is "The word, pleasure, being so comprehensive as to include in its sense also the delight that one may get from scientific and philosophical treatises, how are we to restrict the definition so that it may not be open to the fault of *Ativyāpti* It is idle to think that there is no pleasure derivable from works other than those of poets. This is a fact that requires no endeavour on my part to substantiate; every scholar, if he be a real one, must have known it in his own experience. I shall, however, mention here a few great personalities

whose most rapturous subjects of study have been Vedas, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa and the like, all of which in the point of view of poetry-lovers are insipid, dreary, arid branches of literature. We have a short story in the end of the first Praśna of the Kāṭhaka portion of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, in which it is told that one Bhāradvāja lived three lives, *i. e.*, 300 years, as a student of Vedas, and when he was lying on bed worn out with age, Indra went to him and asked him what he would do if he were to give him a fourth life ; to which Bhāradvāja replied that he would certainly continue the study of Vedas. In the beginning of his Śloka-Vārtika, the great Kumārila says "My avidity highly increases for the precious gem of the Vedic lore which is made greatly effulgent by the radiance of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra".¹ Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha, at the end of his Abhitastava, says that his life was spent in enjoying the sweetness of the words of the greatest of saints (*i. e.*) the Śrī Bhāṣya of Bhagavad Rāmānuja. And lastly, so recent a scholar as Professor Max Muller has a few words in his "Science of Language", which show that he ranks the *dhātus* of Vyākaraṇa, which are to literary men what clay is for a house-builder, even higher than poetry :—

"Roots may seem dry things as compared with the poetry of Goethe, yet there is something more truly wonderful in a root than in all the lyrics of the world."

Here a solution may seem possible. Rasa may be put in the place of pleasure. The meaning of the term Rasa is much more restricted than that of pleasure. The only pleasure which is derived from poetical works is called Rasa. And such a definition we have from Viśvanātha, the author of the Sāhityadarpaṇa. He says that the sentence which has 'Rasa' is poetry—'*Kāvyaṃ tu rasavad vākyam*'.

Now the theories of Rasa are manifold. The sage, Bharata, the father of Rasa, mentions only eight Rasas. Udbhaṭa and a more ancient author, *Kohala*, add one more, namely 'Śānta' ; and again Rudraṭa adds one more 'namely' 'Preyān or Sneha'. Dharmasūri informs us that there are authors who accept another Rasa called 'Vatsala' ; and others who accept another, called

1. मीमांसाशास्त्रतेजोमिर्निशेषणोज्ज्वलीकृते ।

वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे तृष्णातीव विजृम्भते ॥

‘Bhakti’. Thus we see that the number of Rasas is brought up to twelve. Rudraṭa not only mentions ten Rasas, but he goes on to say that even ‘Nirveḍa,’ निर्वेद etc., which are usually accepted and styled as ‘Vyabhicāri Bhāvas’ (transitory states as Haas translates them) are also Rasas. While thus the number of Rasas gradually increases at the hands of these authors, critics are not altogether wanting who would not accept even Bharata’s eight Rasas. Perhaps we should not reckon Bhavabūti (who in his Uttararāmacarita makes it clear that in his view there is only one Rasa ‘Karuna,’) among the critics and theorists of poetry, because, he being a poet, his words may be explained away as poetic Hyperbole. There is, however, Bhojarāja or Bhojadeva, the author of the ‘Śṛṅgāraprakāśa’, wherein he is said to have maintained that there is no Rasa other than Śṛṅgāra¹, it is only one Rasa. Now whose theory are we to follow with regard to the meaning of the term ‘Rasa’ if we adopt Viśvanātha’s definition? Moreover, no Ālaṅkārika anterior to Ānandavardhana seems to have ever thought of Rasa as the omnipresent essence of poetry. As Sovani says very correctly, Bharata’s conception of poetry is dramatic. True, he very often makes use of the term, Kāvya; but so far as I know, it invariably refers only to drama. But it would be wrong to infer from this that at the time of Bharata, epic poetry had not come into existence. ‘Devas, headed by Mahendra’, says Bharata (I-II), ‘requested Brahmā

1. Dharmasūri quotes two ślokaś from Bhojarāja’s Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

.....करुणादीनां रसशब्दार्थैव न घटत इत्यभिप्रायेण शृङ्गारप्रकाशे भोजराजो व्याजहार—

वीराद्भुतादिषु रसेषु रसप्रसिद्धिः

सिद्धा कुतोऽपि वटयक्षवदाविभाति ।

लोके गतानुगतिकत्ववशादुपेता-

मेतां निवर्तयितुमेष परिश्रमो नः ॥

शृङ्गारवीरकरुणाद्भुतहास्यरादै-

बीभत्सवत्सलभयानकशान्तनाम्नः ।

आम्नासिषुर्दश रसानपरे वयं तु

शृङ्गारमेव रसनाद्रसमामनामः ॥ इति ।

that they wanted a plaything which should be at once seeable and hearable'. This phrase "seeable and hearable", I think, goes to show that not only epic poetry, which is hearable, was known to him but he deemed drama much superior to it, probably on the same ground as Aristotle relies upon in maintaining the superiority of tragedy to epic. "And superior it is," says Aristotle, "because it has all the epic elements—it may even use the epic metre—with the music and spectacular effects as important accessories; and these produce the most vivid of pleasures. Further it has vividness of impression in reading as well as in representation". If thus Bharata has in his view only a branch of poetry, drama, not poetry in general, then it goes without saying that all his theory of Rasa is to be taken as concerning that branch alone, not any other. The words 'Eight are Rasas in drama'¹ also should be taken here into consideration. So it seems to me that what Bharata means to say by the words¹ "न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते" applies to drama only. Since the drama is imitation of human life, अवस्था, which is the same thing as Aristotle's 'men in action', it is absolutely necessary that at least one of the Rasas should be present in every piece of drama. If the lower animals and inanimate things find a place in drama it is only in the background. Not so in narrative poems. The whole tenor of them may as well be the delineation of such animals as monkeys etc., or such things as streams, clouds and cataracts, as Jagannātha points out in his Rasagaṅgādhara. Undoubtedly the view that the Rasa is the essence of poetry dates only from Ānandavardhana². It requires some boldness to maintain this view, since some species of poetry have to be excluded on account of their not being representations of human life, though on every other consideration, they might satisfy the requirements of poetry and such boldness Ānandavardhana fully possessed, and he says (p. 220) "that poem, which is void of Rasa, Bhāva etc., is picture-like and therefore called *citra* (picture) : it is not poetry proper, but an imitation of poetry." From a quotation made by Sovani, from Abhinava's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra, Abhinavagupta seems to have carried this extreme view to a greater extent. 'The ten kinds of drama alone are poetry proper'. But whatever is

¹ अष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ।

² न हि तच्छून्यं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति (लोचनम्—page 65).

said by these authors through their over-enthusiasm to establish the *dhvani* theory, it seems to me certain that no author older than Ānandavardhana, from Bharata down to Rudraṭa, ever held such narrow and exclusive feature to be characteristic of poetry, as Ānandavardhana and a few others after him, did. It is accepted by Ānandavaradhana himself that there were poets in ancient times who had not Rasa in their view while writing their works. Jagannātha, therefore, I am inclined to think, is fully justified in condemning Viśvanātha's definition and in attempting to give a more comprehensive one—the word that conveys a charming sense, is poetry. At the first sight it would appear that the definition of poetry by Daṇḍin is very close to Jagannātha's definition शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली, and along with Sovani, I myself and some of my friends and colleagues held the same opinion till very recently. But Taruṇavācaspati and the unknown author of Hṛdayaṅgama take the adjective इष्ट, in a sense quite different from Jagannātha's sense of pleasing, charming, रमणीय. According to these two commentators, इष्टार्थ means sense sought to be expressed.

‘इष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली विवक्षितार्थपरिच्छिन्नः शब्दसन्दर्भः’

(Taruṇavācaspati.)

“विवक्षितार्थस्य अन्यूनानतिरेकतास्वरूपेण प्रतिपादनसमर्था पदावली ”

(Hṛdayaṅgama)

But to return from the digression :—From what has been said, it is clear that it is hardly justifiable to speak of, as Sovani does, a Rasa school on a par with *Alaṅkāra*-, *rīti*-, and *dhvani*-, schools as having been founded by some, Bharata or anybody else. As a further support to this fact I may refer to the passage Sovani himself has quoted from Samudrabandha's commentary on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, wherein, evidently summing up all the known theories of poetry, the author makes no mention of a Rasa theory. Since thus Rasa cannot help us out of the difficulty which we have to face in getting the definition of poetry so narrowed in its scope that it may not apply to *śāstraic* treatises, we should try to deal with the question otherwise. Speaking of the end of fine art, Butcher writes :—

“ But in his treatment of poetry which holds the sovereign place among the fine arts he makes plain that æsthetic enjoy-

ment proper proceeds from an emotional rather than from an intellectual source. The main appeal is not to the reason but to the feelings. In a word, fine art and philosophy, while they occupy distinct territory, each finds its complete fruition in a region bordering on the other. The glow of feeling which accompanies the contemplation of what is perfect in art is an elevated delight similar in quality to the glow of speculative thought. Each is a moment of joy complete in itself, and belongs to the ideal sphere of supreme happiness." (p. 202).

We see here that Butcher in explaining Aristotle's view, divides pleasure as intellectual and emotional, the former being derived from philosophy or our Śāstras, and the latter from poetry. This suggests an answer to the question under consideration. Pleasure, in the definition, may be qualified as emotional. *Word and sense which produce emotional pleasure are poetry.* Philosophical works no doubt give pleasure but the pleasure is intellectual, and not emotional. This definition is no doubt nearly up to the mark. But I think it is likely to give a wrong idea of poetry. It will lead one to think that there is no intellectual pleasure in poetry—a view which we cannot accept. There are many, I believe, whose pleasure is derived when they read the following śloka of the Raghuvamśa, from an intellectual rather than an emotional source.

ससत्त्वमादाय नदीमुखाम्भः

समीलयन्तो विवृताननत्वात् ।

अमी शिरोभिस्तिमयः सरन्ध्रै-

रुर्ध्वं वितन्वन्ति जलप्रवाहान् ॥

(XIII—10.)

"Look here, these whales, on account of their mouths being open, having taken in the water at the mouths of the rivers, together with the aquatic creatures in it, toss upwards, by closing their jaws, streams of water through their perforated heads."

It is not, If I am right, the contemplation of reason alone that needs intellectual effort. Each and every new perception of things necessarily requires some operation of intellect. Nor can it be with any cogency said that this śloka becomes on that account a piece of philosophy, or rather science, and is not poetry. We know that the purpose of Alaṅkāras is to charm the mind through beautifying the word and sense. But Rudraṭa

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has a *śloka*, treating of Upamā, in his Kāvya-lāṅkāra, which is of much interest in this connection.

सम्यक् प्रतिपादयितुं

स्वरूपतो वस्तु तत्समानमिति ।

वस्त्वन्तरमभिदध्या-

द्वक्ता यस्मिंस्तदौपम्यम् ॥

(VIII—1.)

In order to bring forth fully the truth of this thoughtful and ingenious observation of Rudraṭa, we have to consider a great number of similes of eminent poets, a thing which is now impossible. I should rest satisfied at present therefore with saying this much ; that Kālidāsa's fame for simile is not merely due to the frequent use he makes of it, or merely to its appropriateness but it is due to the fact that while most of his similes are highly pleasing, they at the same time give a more vivid impression of the things described than the case would be if the similes are to be dropped.

Such being the case the best answer we can ever hope to get seems to be this. True, as is shown above, poetry pleases both intellectually and emotionally. True also, such pleasure is derived from philosophy as well. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the objects which poetry and philosophy aim at are entirely different. Poetry directly aims at pleasure while philosophy aims at truth. That poetry sometimes teaches some truth and philosophy produces pleasure is accidental.

Just the same is the view of our old Ālaṅkārikas from Bhāmaha down to Rudraṭa, and of Jagannātha among the moderns who use such general terms as प्रीति, चमत्कार,¹ etc., when speaking of poetic pleasure. Almost the same view has also been expressed by Dryden, as we come to know from a passage of his, quoted by Butcher (p. 239) :—

“I am satisfied if it (verse) cause delight, for delight is the chief if not the only end of poetry ; instruction can be admitted but in the second place, for poetry only instructs as it delights.”

1. It is worth while to note here that Dandin employs the word 'Rasa' itself in the general sense of pleasure or pleasurable-ness:—

कामं सर्वोऽप्यलङ्कारो रसमर्थे निषिञ्चति । (16-2.)

Now it seems that if pleasure in the definition be qualified as 'the direct aim' we can have a definition of poetry, and in my opinion a more satisfactory one is almost impossible.

Accordingly I conclude that *word and sense which directly aim at, and produce, pleasure are poetry.*

श्रीमत्पञ्चनदस्थित-

संस्कृतविद्यालये विनीतमतिः ।

श्रीशैलस्तातार्यो

विमृश्य काव्यस्य लक्षणं व्यधित ॥

THE END :

DRAVIDIC ETYMOLOGIES.

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I. *Brāhūi r-verbs.*

Among the irregular verbs described by Sir Denys Bray in his excellent manual of Brāhūi grammar are a number of bases which show in some of their tense-forms the sound *r*, not indeed as the part of any tense-affix but as an integral portion of the base itself. The discussion of these forms and their cognates in the other dialects of Dravidian would illuminate the function of the ancient Dravidian affix *r* and, incidentally, illustrate several features of ancient Dravidian etymology.

A list of these *r*-verbs and their cognates in the other Dravidian dialects is given in the next page :—

Brāhūi	Tam.	Tel.	Kann.	Tulu	Kui	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh
(to be, to exist)	<i>ir</i>	cf. <i>iruva</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>irḥini</i>	<i>rīs (s)</i>	cf. <i>ir-in ir-paci</i>	cf. <i>irt</i> (to set down), <i>ij</i> etc. <i>men</i>
(to remain)	<i>mannu ul</i>	<i>mannu unnu</i>	<i>ul, mannū</i>	<i>ulḥi</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>mānd</i>	
(to come)	<i>var, va</i>	<i>ra, va</i>	<i>ba, bar</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bar</i>
(to do)	<i>kai, sei</i>	<i>kei, cei</i>	<i>kei, gei, ki.</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	cf. <i>khaka</i> (hand) <i>tai, tei, cā</i>
(to give (to take))	<i>ta, tī</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>tā, ti</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>sī</i> (to give) <i>ta</i> (bring)	<i>sī</i> (to give) <i>ta</i> (to bring)	
(to know, to become clear)	<i>ter, tel, etc.,</i>	<i>ter, tel, etc.</i>	<i>ter, etc.</i>	<i>tel, ter, seḥ</i>	<i>tir</i>	(?)	<i>tel, tel, etc.</i>
(to see)	cf. <i>tondr, siid, etc.</i>	cf. <i>tōr</i> (to appear)	cf. <i>tōr</i>	<i>hu, su, tu</i> (to see)	<i>sur</i>	<i>sur, hear</i>	<i>er, Malto tōṇḍ</i>
(to speak)	<i>pei, paṛa</i>	<i>paluku peḥu</i> (to blabber)	<i>pēl, pei</i>	<i>paṇ cf. pudar</i> (name)	cf. <i>pada</i> (name)	<i>vēs- cf. also polar</i> (name)	<i>bā</i> (to speak) <i>pinj</i> (to name)

[A.] The following peculiarities in the conjugation of Brāhūi *ann* are significant [*Vide* Bray's Gr.] :—

(a) It is a defective substantive verb with an almost obsolete Infinitive and without the Present Indefinite, Future, Imperative or Participial forms.

(b) What Bray calls the Present forms are really formed from old Dravidian *ul* which functions as a substantive verb in many dialects.

(c) The Emphatic Present, the Past, the Imperfect and the Pluperfect forms show the base *ar*-:—

The Emphatic Pr. shows it as such, while the base *ass*- of the other tense forms is traceable to *ar* + *t* (past affix), the change of *t* to *s* being attested by many other Br. instances themselves; cf. the past affix -*s* and forms like *puskun* (new) etc.

(d) The compound tense-forms are employed as auxiliaries for the formation of compound tenses with other verb-bases.

(e) The Negative Base for the Present Tense is *affa* < *arfa* : < *ar va*-, where *va* shows the old Dravidian negative particle -*a*-, and *v* stands for dorsal hiatus-filler.

(f) The missing parts of this substantive verb are supplied by the forms for *mann* (to become).

The following significant facts emerge from the above :—

- (i) *ann* or *ar* is a very ancient verb base.
- (ii) It is used as an auxiliary and as a substantive verb.
- (iii) It was mixed up with another substantive verb (also used as auxiliary), viz. *ul*.

Now, the ancient common Dr. verb-base which presents exactly similar functions and peculiarities in a number of other dialects, particularly Southern, -is *ir* (to remain, to be) which is cognate with *il* (place).

Br. *ar* should, therefore, be regarded as corresponding to *ir* of the South.

of a number of Dr. words is represented by Br. *a*, e.g. cf. Br. *haning-ing* (to cohabit), with Sth. Dr. *in-ai* ; Br. *pad* (back), with Sth. Dr. *pin*, *pir* ; Br. proximate demonstrative *dā* (this), with Dr. *ī* ; *han* (to be sweet) with Southern *in*, initial *h* of Br. being prothetic.

. Cognates in other dialects.

(i) The Southern dialects show *ir*, prominently as an auxiliary and as a substantive verb, and besides (in some dialects)

with a well-defined derivative meaning (Mal. *iri*, to sit, etc.), as a formative suffix, it is conspicuous in all dialects.

As an auxiliary, it functions in the formation of compound tenses prominently in Tamil, Malayālam, Kannaḍa and Koḍagu.

In Tuḷu, as an auxiliary, it has become mixed up with *uḷ*, another ancient auxiliary.

In Telugu, it does not appear as an auxiliary (since *uḷ* seems to have gained predominance here for discharging this function) but the base *ir* appears both as a formative and in forms like the following :—*iruva* (position).

(ii) In Central Dravidian, the activity of *ir* as an auxiliary is conspicuous by its absence; but the verb-base is clearly discoverable in the following form :—Kui *rī* (to be set in position). Aphæresis owing to accent—shift (*Vide below*) is common in Kui (for other instances of Aphæresis, *see below*); accordingly *rī* should be traced to original *ir*.

Gōṇḍi *ir-paci* (tribal division) and *irr* (to keep) contain *ir*.

(iii) *ir* evidences itself in Kurukh in the following :—

(a) Middle-Passive affix.-*r*- (*Vide my "Kurukh verb"*); compare Kui *-ara*.

(b) Perfect affix *n*, probably is a vestige of older *irnd* (past of *ir*) still extant in Southern dialects.

(c) Ablative termination *nd* is from older *irnd*, common as Ablative-denoting affix in the South.

(d) *id* (to set on the ground), *ij* (to be stationary in an upright position), *irt* (to set vessel over fire for preparing food) are all cognate with, if not derived from, *ir*.

Kurukh does not use *ir* as an auxiliary, except probably in the one instance (Perfect ending *-n*) given above.

An examination of the above would show that *ir* as an auxiliary, is conspicuous in the South and in Brāhūi, while the other dialects use *uḷ* or *man* as the auxiliary. Even in the Southern dialects and in Br., the struggle between *ir* and *u* appears to have been keen, but *ir* was not totally eliminated as an auxiliary.

[B.] Brāhūi *mann* (to become).

I have shown elsewhere¹ that Br. *mann*, Kurukh *men* (to become), central Dr. *men*, *mand* (to be, to become). Southern

¹ *Vide* I H. Q., Sept., 1929.

mannu (to remain) are all related and probably traceable to the old base *ul*.

The mixing-up of ancient *ir* and *ul* (as attested by Brāhūi, Tulu¹ and Kodagu²) accounts for the base *mar-* of the Br. Affirmative forms.

The Present Negative sign *-pa* appears as *-fa* in the forms of *mann* and *ar*, because of *r* which preserved the bilabial character of *v*, and incidentally unvoiced it also ; while the normal *-pa* of Brāhūi shows the change of *v > p*, as in other dialects.

I have cited numerous cognates of *man* in I H Q; I may add here the following :—Kurukh *mañk* (to let in, introduce), *mañji* (core).

[C] *bann* (to come.)

Conjugated exactly like Br. *mann*, it shows two bases *ba-* and *bar-*. Br. *ras-* (to arrive) is a cognate form produced by accent shift, as in Telugu *ra-*.

Among the Southern dialects, Tamil shows both bases : the *r-* base in the Present, Future and some of the minor conjugational forms, and the base without *r* in the others.

Telugu *vatsu* contains the affix *r* absorbed within the affix *su* which latter has become permanently incorporated in the base ; the Imperative shows Aphæresis of *va*, the form being *ra*. *ra* is also the base of the causative *ra-v insu*.

How is the *r* here to be accounted for ? The fact that this affix *-r* appears to be common to many Dr. dialects and in most of these cases shows itself more or less alternatively, would point to the affix having been originally introduced for the purpose of reinforcing the verbal action³.

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1. *Vide* my paper on *Tulu Verb* in the " Educational Review ".
 2. *Vide* my paper on the *Affinities of Kodagu*, in the " Educational Review ".
 3. A-Fick (in his *Vergleichendes Worterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*) points out the existence of an ancient determinative *-r* in ancient I. G. C., which may be "*die älteste unserer Grundsprache*." All the instances he has given would appear to show that the *r-* forms have basically an intensifying force, as in the *r-* verbs of Dravidian, the only difference being that while alternative bases with and without *-r* exist with the same meaning in some of the Dravidian dialects, the I. G. C., *r-* forms show distinct semantic variations.

We may also note that some of these semantic variations in I.G.C. arise as a result of the *fixing* of the action of the verb also. Cf. the

[D] *dann* (to take) and *tin* (to give.)

In my view, these forms are differentiations of one common original form which conveyed the idea of transference. The semantic differentiation in this case is one of metendosemy, according to Carnoy's terminology.

Indeed, the meanings of *ta*, as in other dialects of Dravidian vary between *bring* and *give*, and from these ideas, the transition to the signification of *take* (cf. Tel. *tisu* which marks this stage) is natural ; but as each of the ideas is an essentially well-defined one, a differentiation becomes necessary, and this has been effected in the other dialects by the employment of different forms for *take*, while Brāhūi appears to have created a modified form. Br. *dann* shows the alternative base *et-* in some tenses ; this should be related to Tam. *eḍ-* and Tel. *ett-*.

Tamil ... ¹*tā-* (to bring, to give); *koḍ-u* (to give); and *eḍ-u* (to take) are basically different

Telugu ... *tī* (*su*) (to take), *sī* (to give)

Tulu ... *ta* (to bring), *deppuni* (to take)

Gōṇḍi ... *ta* (bring, take,) *sī* (to give)

Kui ... *sī* (to give), *tā* (to bring, to give)

Kurukh ... *cī* (to give) ; *tai* (to send).

Tamil and Kannaḍa *tā-* shows the affix *r* in the base of some of the tense-forms, just as in *va-*. The ancient character of these bases, together with the nature of the function that *-r* performed at an early stage in all the dialects as a formative (of nouns and verbs), would show that *-r* here should have had a reinforcing purpose.

In the Southern dialects, there is an ancient form *ī* which means *to give*. Whether there is any connection between this *ī*

Middle infix *-r-* of Kurukh, which also similarly fixes the action of the verb. Fick says, " Ueber die Bedeutung des antretenden *-r* lässt sich nichts Gewisses sagen."

1. The form *tā* generally means the idea of *leading something to another and making that other possess it* ; while *sī* stresses, in the contexts in which it is employed, only *the idea of anything being parted with by the possessor*. *eḍ* of Tamil and *ett* of Telugu originally meant *to lift up* and then secondarily has come to mean *to take*. Tam.-Mal. *Kuḍ-koḍ* signifies merely *to hand over*.

I consider that *tā*, *tisu* (of Tel.), Br. *dā*, *tī*, and *sī* to be all related, the semantic differentiations being natural developments.

and *sī*, *tī*, *tā*, we cannot say, *ī*, it may be noted, does not take the affix *r* in any of the tense-forms, nor do its meanings deviate from the idea of *give*¹.

[E]. Brāhūi *ca*²-(to understand).

This is a very interesting Brāhūi form which shows the base *cā*- in the Affirmative tenses, and the base *tir*- in the Negative ones.

The appearance of the affix *r* in the base of the Negative forms entitles the word to be grouped among the *r*-verbs of Brāhūi.

Denys Bray mentions that in the Nushki dialect of Brāhūi, *tā* appears as a variant of *cā*. This would seem to indicate that the original form may have been one with initial *t*, followed by a front vowel whose traces remain in the Past stem *cāi* and which is conspicuous in the Negative base *tir*.

Cognates in other dialects.

Kann: *tīli* (to become clear, to know)

Tam. ... *ter*-(to know), *telī* (to become clear)

Tel. ... *teliyu* (to know), *telī* (to become clear)

Kurukh ... *sār* (to feel), *tel̥tel̥* (to be revealed to sight etc.)

Tulu ... *teri* (to know), *telī* (to become clear) and *selī*.

The basic idea would, in my opinion, probably have been "to become clear", and then by a process of metasemy the idea of *knowing*, *feeling*, *understanding*, should have arisen.

Hence it is probable that the basic meaning was *to make visible* or *clear* and that the other meanings were developed through normal semantic processes.

[F.] *hur* (to see).

It would appear from Bray's description of the conjugational forms of the verb, that *r* should be presumed to have been present in all these tense-forms.

hur, then, is a full *r*-verb in Brāhūi, and this it appears to be in many other dialects also, though in Tulu, the form appears *without* the *r* :

1. In a recent paper in A.J. Ph., Mr. E. H. Tuttle has tried to connect together the forms with initial *t*- and the form *ī*; the attempt, however, does not carry conviction.

2. Analogous forms in other language-systems like the Indo-Chinese, Austric and Finno-Ugrian, have been pointed out by scholars.

The Brāhūi form, however, appears to be native, and cannot be regarded (as some scholars do) as a foreign borrowing.

(to see) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kui} \quad \dots \text{hur} \\ \text{Gōṇḍi} \quad \dots \text{sur, and dialectally hur} \\ \text{Tuḷu} \quad \dots \text{su, tu, hu.} \end{array} \right.$

I have tried to show elsewhere¹ that these forms and quite a host of cognates in all the dialects are ultimately traceable to ancient radicals *tu, ti* (light, heat, etc.) still preserved in the Southern dialects.

[G.] *pan* (to say).

This is an interesting *r*-verb of Brāhūi which shows *r* only in the base of the probable Future *parot*, etc.

Unlike the verbs mentioned above, this verb seems to have retained this unsteady reinforcing verbal affix only in *one* tense.

This verb should be related to the very large group of Dr. forms with the basic meaning *to speak*:—Southern *para* (to say), *pēsu*, *pudar*, *pesar*, *pēru* (name); Central Dr. *pada*, *polar* (name); Kurukh *bar*, *pinj* (to name), all cognate.²

[H.] Br. *Kann* (to do).

This verb appears to be related to the common forms in the other dialects for *to do*: Southern *sei*, *kei*; central Dr. *ki*, etc.

It is also evidently cognate³ with the forms for *hand* in all the other dialects: Southern *kai*, *cei*, *gei*; Central Dr. *kai*, *gai*; Kurukh *kheka*.

The form for *hand* in Brāhūi is *du*.

In none of the dialects other than Br. does the affix *r* appear in the base. In Br. it does appear in the base for the Affirmative tenses, probably owing to contamination with other *r*-verbs.

(To be continued)

1. *Vide* my paper mentioned above.

2. *Vide* my paper on *va-ba* in Vol. III, Parts I & II of the "Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society."

3. *Vide* I. H. Q., Sept. 1928.

A NOTE ON YĀSKA AND HIS AUTHORSHIP OF THE NIRUKTA.

BY

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM ESQ., M. A.,
Tinnevely.

In the III Vol. of the Indian Historical Quarterly, 1927, P. 510 to 517, one Mr. Chamupati has tried very hard to establish that Yāska should be considered the author of both the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. Before refuting his arguments it would be worth our while to consider certain internal evidences which conclusively establish that Yāska's authorship should be restricted to the Nirukta alone, while the authorship of the Nighaṇṭu should be attributed to a predecessor of Yāska.

In the very introduction of the Nirukta we have the following passage :—

ते निगन्तव एव सन्तो निगमनान्निघण्टव उच्यन्त इत्यौपमन्यवः । (p.6)

Here Yāska refers to the opinion of the sage Aupamanyava on the derivation of the term निघण्टवः, which, Yāska says, refers to the collection of words he is commenting upon (तमिमं समाम्नायं निघण्टव इत्याचक्षते). This reference to the opinion of some other author on the derivation of the very term which forms the title of the work he comments upon, must be sufficient evidence of the fact that the work denoted by the term, *Nighaṇṭu*, should have preceded not only Yāska but also the sage Aupamanyava whom he quotes. And it need not be pointed out that the *Nighaṇṭu* could not have been a work of Yāska.

The frequent quotations by Yāska of interpretations of some of the very same words which he explains, offered by other sages like, शाकपूणि, तैटीकि, गालव etc.,—for example, on the word शिताम —would show that Yāska was not the author of the work of which these words form part.

N. B. The pages referred to here are those of the Venkatesvara Press Edition of the Nirukta.

It is superfluous to quote references in support of the view that Durgācārya considers Yāska to be the Bhāṣyakāra alone, and not the author of the Nighaṇṭu. But it will be interesting to note one instance where Durgācārya explicitly calls the Nirukta, the Bhāṣya.

भाष्यमत्र न सम्यगिव लक्ष्यते, तस्य सम्यक्पाठोऽवेष्ट्यः । (p. 533.)

The conclusion reached by Mr. Chamupati about Yāska's dual authorship of both the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, seems to rest on his discovery of the use of a verb in the First Person Singular by Yāska. The following is the passage in question :—

भूयांसि तु समाम्नात्, यत्तु संविज्ञानभूतं स्यात् प्राधान्यस्तुति-
तत्समामने ।

The reading, समामने as it is, does, of course, give room to the suspicion entertained by Mr. Chamupati. But fortunately, a different reading is preserved to us in a commentary attributed to Skandasvāmin, available in manuscript form, deposited in The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Vol. II., p. 516 (T. 3. 16).

एतदुक्तं भवति—यद्गुणित्वेनैव दृष्टं न कदाचिच्छेषभूतं तत्समामनेत् ।

The above reading of the verb, समामनेत्, should dispel all doubts about the supposed use of the verb in the First Person. It is here to be noted by the way that Mr. Lakshman Sarup, M. A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxford) does not seem to have come across this reading, though he says that he had access to the Madras Ms. Though Durgācārya interprets the text with the reading समामने—[which has also given rise to the remark यास्केनापि निघण्टुसमाम्नायो रचित इति भाति from the learned editor of the Nirukta in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit series—(Vol. II. Ṭippani p. 63)], he does not at all give room for the suggestion that according to him Yāska should be considered the author of the Nighaṇṭu also. The following passages in his commentary bear testimony to the above fact.

P. 590 सामान्यतः परिभाषितोऽन्यादिर्देवपत्न्यन्तो देवतापदसमा-
न्नायः, विशषत इदानीं प्रतिपदमनु व्याख्यास्यते..... । सामान्यात् पारि-
भाषिकात् व्याख्यानादनन्तरात् अनु आनुपूर्व्येण यथासमाम्नातं क्रमिष्यामो
वर्णयिष्यामो व्याख्यायेति वाक्यशेषः ॥

P. 635 आप्रियः इध्मादीनि आप्रीषु निर्वक्तव्यानि, तानि पुनरमूनि त्रैषिके आप्रीसूक्ते पाठक्रमनियमात् विवक्षितक्रमाणीति देवतापदसमाम्नायेऽपि गृह्यमाणत्वात् पाठक्रमप्रयोजनस्य विवक्षितक्रमाण्येव । तत्रैतद्वति । इमान्य-
ग्निरातवेदेवैश्वानरप्रमृतीनि किं विवक्षितक्रमाणि उत युगपदभिधानासंभवात् अर्थत एषां क्रमः ? इति ॥

तत्र विवक्षितक्रमाणीति केचित् ।.....तत्र तत्र प्रथमागामी भवतीति वचनं यथाप्रधानमभिधानं पूर्वं समाम्नातमित्यस्य न्याय्यस्योपप्रदर्शनार्थमिति लक्ष्यते..... ॥

शाकपूणिस्तु पृथिवीनामभ्य एव उपक्रम्य स्वयमेव सर्वत्र क्रमप्रयोजनमाह ॥
It could be clearly seen from the above passages that according to Durgācārya, the निघण्टुसमाम्नाय should have been a thing of the past and Yāska was only commenting upon it and not making it. Above all, the reference to Śākapiṇi's explanation of the purpose of the particular order in the arrangement of words adopted in the निघण्टुसमाम्नाय should dispel any lingering doubt as to the probability of Yāska's authorship of the Nighaṇṭu.

Thus it will be seen that Yāska's dual authorship discovered by Mr. Chamupati is as real as शशविषाण. It will be amusing to find this critical skill buttressed by somersaults of interpretative genius. Here is one instance :—(p. 514.)

“Satyavrata's contention that derivatives from the root *Samāmnā* are not used with reference to contemporary literature falls to the ground when we see Yāska himself using *Samāmane*, 'I compile' in Nirukta VII-13-10 in the first person and present tense. The root of the verb does not help *Sāmaśramī*, but the context in which it is used does require explanation¹. If *Imām Grantham* should in reality imply the present Nighaṇṭu, it must have been compiled before as also the *Veda* and the *Vedāṅgas*, which too form accusatives to the same verb. The reference of 'this book' should, we think, be to the book in hand and not

1. For the convenience of the readers we give the context here :—

साक्षात्कृतधर्मीण ऋषयो बभूवुः । तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान् संप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मग्रहणत्येवं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषु-
र्वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च ॥ (p. 90.)

to one previously compiled by somebody and nowhere named in the text we are commenting on. If this book was something separate from the *Veda* and the *Vedāṅgas* adverted to in the same sentence, *one more CA ought to have been used*, as according to Yāska himself (Nirukta I-4-21 चेति समुच्चयार्थं उभाभ्यां संप्रयुज्यते) cumulative CA should be repeated after every word it joins. As after *Grantham* it is omitted, we think *Grantham* does not stand for a distinct treatise, but comprises in it two parts, one denoted by the *Veda* and the other by the *Vedāṅgas*, which words, as following it, are to be taken in apposition with it, inserted there to state what 'This book' means."

In the passage above quoted we have to draw the attention of the readers to the way in which he supports his interpretation with the authority of Yāska. A reference to the text of Yāska's remark and to the illustration he gives under it ought to show at a glance that the arguments of our friend are the result of a momentary forgetfulness of his own conclusion, that, in his own words, Yāska was 'the latest editor of a book on Vedic exegetics', and not on Classic exegetics.

Look at his meaning of the word समामने which forms the substratum for all his conclusions. According to him Yāska is said to *compile* the names of the *Devatās*. I leave it to the readers to imagine what our friend means by compiling names of *Devatās*.

Further, he finds fault with Durgācārya for putting a strained interpretation on certain words. On p. 512 we have the following criticism of Durgācārya.

"In several places, besides, Yāska says he will put in order the names of *Devatās*—*anukramiṣyāmaḥ*. (Nirukta-VII-14-1; IX-1-1). Now in Nirukta which was an exposition of Nighaṇṭu he could not evolve a new order. The order was already determined in Nighaṇṭu, Durgācārya a commentator on Nirukta, suggests that the prefix *anu* (in accordance with) in the word *anukramiṣyāmaḥ* should give the word the significance of 'following' instead of 'evolving' an order.

"That, however, is a strained interpretation. In Nirukta a form of the same verb, *anukrāntāḥ*, is used with reference to *Devatās* that share with one another praises or oblations or both and are otherwise mutually related. These *Devatās* are enume-

rated in Nirukta independently of Nighaṇṭu. (Compare the commentary of Durgācārya on the passage in question¹.) ”

Let us compare the conclusions arrived at by him at different stages. On p. 511 he says :—“ The Nighaṇṭu has been compiled. It is to be expounded. A reader, who has not studied the book further, spontaneously gets the impression that the writer who is undertaking to expound Nighaṇṭu has himself compiled it.” By the way we have to draw attention to the fact that according to our friend the term व्याख्यान means “ expounding ”.

On p. 513 we have this conclusion :—“ The compilation of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta may, perhaps, have proceeded side by side and then an introduction prefixed to Nirukta, wherein the writing of Nighaṇṭu may have been spoken of as something accomplished while that of Nirukta, which part was to come after the introduction may have been mentioned as a work which was yet in hand.”

On p. 515 we have the following statements :—“ Nirukta including Nighaṇṭu has not for the first time been compiled by Yāska..... To them is due the original compilation of this book.”

On p. 517 the article is concluded thus :—“ Our study so far has convinced us that both of these books, or as we look upon them parts of the same work, have been compiled in their present form by Yāska, the latest editor of a book on Vedic exegetics.”

It is rather very tiresome to be explaining the inconsistencies and errors in the above statements and we leave it to the readers to imagine for themselves.

Above all, the whole article is dominated by a spirit of irreverence. Yāska is said to have committed mistakes in the compilation of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta and he is excused as having committed them unconsciously, and he is excused for the use of loose tenses on the ground that ‘ authors, even of modern days are not very rigid in their use of tenses, while speaking of their act of writing or compiling their books’. Perhaps our

1. P. 587 “इतीमा देवता अनुक्रान्ताः” । इतिकरणः प्रकरणसमाप्त्यर्थः । अथ वा, इतिकरणेनाभिनयेन दर्शयन्निव ब्रवीति । एवमनेन प्रकारेण यथापरिभाषितेन ॥ Our friend has taken this passage as beginning a new topic, which is a gross absurdity.

friend may appropriately refer to himself as an example of modern authors. In short, to quote the words of a famous English author, the writer of the article,

Assumes the rod, affects the God,
And seems to shake the spheres.

It could be seen that the article, originally designed to establish that Yāska should be considered the author of both the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, ultimately ended in finding fault with Yāska and his commentators because they wrote things quite contrary to the suggested conclusion, and in arriving at three confounding issues :—

1. Yāska was the author of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta as could be 'spontaneously' concluded from the very first sentence of the Nirukta.
2. He was the last compiler of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta.
3. He was the latest editor of a book on Vedic exegetics.

A NOTE ON GHANAŚYĀMA—HIS PERSONALITY AND HIS HOROSCOPE.

BY

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पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वम्—Kālidāsa.

Thanks to the learned compiler of the article on Ghanaśyāma, which appeared in a previous number of this Journal, we have one more tangible personality added to the very few already known with any definiteness of a biographical nature in the dark pages of Sanskrit Literary History. Devoid of myth and traditional perversion or exaggeration, there has been presented to us in the above-said article a wealth of detail regarding Ghanaśyāma's private, public and literary life. It is, of course, because of the noisy vain-gloriousness of Ghanaśyāma himself in unfurling his own banners and beating his own drums, that he stands before our vision, a clear-cut figure in marked contrast to the looming, dim galaxy of literary celebrities, in the bottomless depths of the past.

Humility has always been the test of permanence, as well as the mark of respectability, in literature. Great souls not only do not proclaim themselves from house-tops but are also invariably unconscious of their own powers and achievements. They work during inspired and self-forgetful moods. Over-confidence and arrogance, bragging and disdain, characterise men who perish like moths beating violently against the flame. They are never the traits of the supermen who capture the world with their soul-enkindling influence and reign supreme until eternity.

Ghanaśyāma fell in love with himself to the degree of self-delusion and madness, so much so, he considered that nothing relating to himself could be too trivial for the admiration of his reader. He has given us accounts of his parents, grand parents, brother, sister, wives (for he married two), the *aliases* of himself and what not. He believed that he was an incarnation of the goddess of Speech Herself. The rapidity and versatility with which he wrote blinded him to the merits of his works and he

proudly measured quantities with the greatest of poets. He wondered at the bulk of his own creations and scoffed at the producers, who had only a few works to their credit. Even Kālidāsa was not spared cynicism on that count.

The conceit with which he seeks to reconcile himself to his imagined condescension in commenting on Rājaśekhara's Viddhasālābhāñjikā, is, to say the least, repulsive. Out of his 64 Sanskrit works about a dozen are commentaries—invariably called by him *Saṅjīvanīs*—on the ancient classics, poetry, prose and drama. It was his arrogant claim that he was making poor texts rich by his condescension to comment on them. In invoking the benedictions of Saraswatī and Gaurī, he represented them as attending upon himself to serve his ends and to destroy his enemies—even before the goddesses he was unable to forget his fussy importance.

It is not surprising that such a self-glorifier was a sour abuser of his rivals in the field. He had something of Jonathan Swift's nature in him, though he cannot exactly be called a misanthrope. He had no deep-rooted misgivings regarding humanity. He did not cut up men for pleasure. It was his absurd vanity and not malice that was at the bottom of his contemptuous treatment of the great names in literature such as—Kṛṣṇamiśra, Rājaśekhara and Kālidāsa. He set such value upon his writings and so jealously clung to them that like Paṇḍita Jagannātha, he poured down cruel invectives upon imaginary plagiarists. He fretted under a painful fancy that there was none to admire him to the extent of his self-estimation. Ghanaśyāma was a staunch Advaitin and an ardent devotee of Śiva. I believe that the softening influences of philosophy and faith saved him from sinking into a mere Indian edition of Swift. The traditional culture of the sages running in his veins got the better of him when he fell from power and position in middle age. Else how could he have mouthed this language of humility and remorse?—

आयुः किं शरदां सहस्रमय किं दैवेन यदीयते

तन्नालं जठरस्य हन्त गिरिजाकान्तं शिवं चिन्तय ।

मत्काव्याणुविलङ्घनैकविमुखे तुक्कोजिराजे गतेऽ-

प्याश्चण्डाल मनः किमिच्छसि पुनर्भाग्यं न लज्जा तव ॥

Ghanaśyāma made an exception in the case of only a few literary figures and spared them his derisions. The learned con-

tributor of the article under consideration gives one instance in which, "Ghanaśyāma refers to one learned author Śivarāmakṛṣṇa with great respect." I am afraid Ghanaśyāma takes no credit for humility under the verse quoted in this connection; for it appears to me that, properly interpreted, the verse means something entirely different and contemplates no reference to any person called Śivarāmakṛṣṇa. The verse is as follows :—(It is prefatory to Ghanaśyāma's Uttararāmacaritasañjīvanī.)

ग्रन्थो मे मित इह विस्तरे[रे] वृथा स्या-

द्वायत्र्यष्टकपठने बुधोऽलसो यत् ।

यल्लेखेष्वपि शिवरामकृष्णनाम्नां

यश्चायं [यच्चायं or यच्चाहं] वटुगणपाठने वनेच्छः ॥

I consider that there are two scribe's or printer's mistakes in the verse and have ventured to correct them in brackets. I interpret the verse thus :—"I have been brief in this commentary ; elaboration will be of no avail ; because (even) learned men are (nowadays) too lazy to utter the *gāyatrī* eight times over (or to read through the गायत्र्यष्टक) or to copy down the (sacred) names of Śiva, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. But still they are very eager to teach groups of pupils [or; and more-over I am very intensely devoted to the teaching of groups of boys (and so have little time to spare.)] But in fact, Ghanaśyāma exempts two leading literary figures from his flings and they are Appayya Dikṣita and Mallinātha.

The horoscope of Ghanaśyāma given at the end of the valuable article is an index to his personality as sketched above. Before going to a study of the horoscope, I would like to settle the items of the horoscope itself accurately, for, I am afraid, that the *cakras* deduced from the verse of Ghanaśyāma by the learned contributor of the article, contain a few inaccuracies. I give the verse here :—

लग्ने कीटे श्लेषेष्वासनदलनिलयौ भूजकेतूजनू[धनु]ई-

र्यशे काव्येऽथ नके क्रियघटकटकांशेषु सौम्येन चन्द्रः[—नचन्द्राः] ।

सौरिर्मेघे तुलांशे वृषमिथुनदले सैहिकेयोऽथ जीवः

• क्रौलैरे सिंहभागे ह्यलिधनु[न]नवमांशे यदीयोऽवतारः ॥

The corrections in brackets are mine.*

The *Rāsi* and *Amśa* positions as appear to me from the verse are these :—

IV—10

	Śani	Rāhu		Kuja	Budha		Rāhu
	Rāśi			Ravi	Amśa		Candra
Ravi Budha Candra							Śukra Guru
Śukra	Kuja Ketu Lagna		Guru	Ketu Lagna		Śani	

A reference to the Ephemeris of the late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai gives the following particulars about the horoscope.

Born. 1706 A. D. ; Pārthiva ; January 13th or 14th ; Tai, 2nd or 3rd ; Śukla Pakṣa, Dvitiyā ; The fourth Pāda of Śravaṇa ; at about 52½ Ghaṭikās. Paṇḍit K. G. Natesa Sastrigal, whom I consulted, corroborates the above, in the main, from his independent calculation.

Tukkoji reigned from 1729 to 1735. Ghanaśyāma was very likely elevated to ministership at his 23rd year or thereabouts. He might have come under royal patronage far earlier as from his 12th year he was a poet. His fall dated from Tukkoji's death in 1735, when he was 29 years old. The whole scheme of his life shows a youthful brilliance of a dazzling character. At twenty-two, he was a master of seven or eight languages, a bul-wark of Advaitism and an author of प्रहसनडमरुकनाटकसङ्ककाव्यद्वि-मञ्जरीमाणाः। Many of his commentaries were the productions of a single night or a part of it. In his Navagrahacarita Nāṭaka written in his twenty-second year he does not describe himself as the Minister of Tukkoji. He, therefore, should have ascended to that dignity after his 22nd year. A certain amount of rawness in his writings is unmistakable evidence of the fact that he too early soared up to the heights of social and political importance and so had few opportunities for learning golden lessons of life at the school of adversity.

In the prime of life, in the luckiest of positions which ambition could dream of in those days of petty monarchies and with a versatility of genius to his credit for linguistic and literary excellence, it is not surprising that Ghanaśyāma was a dashing literary fop brimming with the mead of confidence and the brine of superciliousness. The history of Ghanaśyāma's later life is

yet to be unearthed and I have no doubt that he cooled down to thoughtfulness and sobriety after his fall. There is an indication of this turn in the verse already quoted above.

Ghanaśyāma commenced life with the last months of the *candra-daśā*. *Kuja-daśā* covered his child-hood. He was under the influence of the *Rāhu-daśā* from the 7th to the 25th year. That was a brilliant period of literary activities for him. *Rāhu* is strongly placed in *Rāśi* and *Amśa*; *Vṛṣabha* and *Mithuna* being his most congenial houses. *Rāhu* is in opposition to the exact degree of birth. Occupying as he does the house of *Śukra*, he is the distributor of all the fruits which *Śukra* will be able to yield. For, the *Jātakacandrikā* says :—

यद्यद्वावगतौ वापि यद्यद्वावेशसंयुतौ ।

तत्तत्फलानि प्रबलौ प्रदिशेतां तमोग्रहौ ॥

Now *Śukra* the giver of Poetry occupies the house of poetic creation. The lord of that house is most splendidly placed in nine, his *उच्चग्रह*, and under the direct aspect of the two other *yoga-kāraṇās* of the Rising sign, *Ravi* and *Candra*. This is a clear indication that *Ghanaśyāma*'s great literary gifts brought him political power. We have already seen how his literary work had been prolific when he was scarcely twenty-two years old.

The horoscope presents to the examiner one of the simplest and surest of *Rājayoga* combinations. For *वृश्चिकलग्न*, the *Candrikā* lays down —

सूर्याचन्द्रमसावेव भवेतां योगकारकौ ।

The bane of the combination is, however, *Budha* the lord of Eight and Eleven. For again to quote the *Candrikā*—

धर्मकर्माधिनेतारौ रन्ध्रलाभाधिपौ यदि ।

तयोः संबन्धमात्रेण न योगं लभते नरः ॥

And again the *Rājayoga* combination of *Ravi* and *Candra* is weakened by the following considerations.

1. *Ravi* and *Candra* are about 20° apart.
2. Between them intervenes the destroyer, *Budha* who is about ten degrees from them both.
3. The combination occurs in the Third house—a house of obscurity and narrow vision.

4. The lord of the house, Śani, occupies the Sixth house, his *Nica-Rāśi*.

In fact the real operative combination in the horoscope is not the *Ravi-candrayoga* but the *Ravi-guruyoga*. Parāśara says:—

केन्द्रपुत्रेशयोर्योगे योगोऽमात्याभिधो भवेत् ।

Guru, lord of Five, is placed in direct opposition to Ravi the lord of Ten. Guru is the most beneficent planet in the horoscope.

1. He is the only planet occupying a trine house.
2. He is *Ucca*.
3. He occupies the Tenth house *Navāṁśa*—that of Ravi.
4. He aspects Lagna, Candra and Ravi, and also Kuja, the lord of Lagna.
5. He is the lord himself of the *Navāṁśa* Lagna.

Guru also gives an unmitigated one-third share of the *Sarasvatī-yoga* which according to the *Phaladīpikā* is fully realised if Guru, Śukra and Budha occupy the Second house or the *Kendras* or the *koṇas* and are also powerful. Here Śukra, though occupying the Second house is in *शत्रुक्षेत्र* both in *Rāśi* and *Amśa*; Budha is outside the specified houses. The results of the *सरस्वतायाग* are thus summed up—

धीमान्नाटकगद्यपद्यगणितालंकारशास्त्रेष्वयं

निष्णातः कविताप्रबन्धरचने शास्त्रार्थपारंगतः ।

कीर्त्याक्रान्तजगत्त्रयोऽतिथनिको दारात्मजैरन्वितः

स्यात्सारस्वतयोगजो नृपवरैः संपूजितो भाग्यवान् ॥

It is, therefore, certain that when Ghanaśyāma entered the *Guru-daśā* in his 25th year he became the minister of the Coja King. It is also likely that the end of *Rāhu-daśā* itself raised him to that dignity for as already explained *Rāhu* is the custodian of the sum total of the fruits, good or bad, available to the native. Ghanaśyāma continued as minister during the sub-periods of Guru and Śani and met his fall in the Budha *Bhukti*, i.e., about his 29th or 30th year in 1735—36. Why should he at all meet with a fall in his life, especially in the middle of *guru-daśā* is thus explained:—

1. Guru himself possesses vitally evil *आधिपत्य* from the Candra Lagna—of 3 and 12.
2. There is the *Rāja-yoga-Bhaṅga* already referred to owing to the intervention of Budha.

3. The lord of nine, Candra, in addition to his conjunction with Budha, is afflicted by a decidedly vicious aspect or Śani—The planets are exactly 90° and 270° apart.

4. Ketu at birth-point indicates reverses in position and fortune.

One thing more remains to be said. The Rising sign is Scorpio and it is occupied by two malefics. Ketu has full grip of the birth-point. These items signify that the native is an audacious and aggressive character. Kuja in his स्वर्क्ष occupying the Lagna indicates tenacity, energy and confidence. The planets in the third house indicate firmness and boldness. Regarding Ketu in Lagna the Phaladīpikā says:—

लग्ने कृतघ्नमसुखं पिशुनं विवर्णं

स्थानच्युतं विकलदेहमसत्समाजम् ॥

About Rāhu in Seven the same work says:—

स्त्रीसङ्गादधनो मदे च विधुरोऽवीर्योऽस्त्रतन्त्रोऽल्पधीः ।

On the whole, I believe that Ghanaśyāma's horoscope is a valuable guide to the study of his life and I have endeavoured to bear out the truth of Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri's observation that the horoscope "might enable students of Indian Astrology to ascertain his (Ghanaśyāma's) intellectual and other attainments".

A NOTE ON THE PUṢPADUṢITAKA

BY

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The Puṣpaduṣitaka is a Prakaraṇa. It has shared the same fate as many other dramas, in that there is a clean omission of its author's name. As far as I am aware of, there is only one reference in the Abhinavabhāratī, and a summary of its plot in two places in the Vakroktijīvitam of Kuṇṭaka. A passing reference has also been made in the Daśarūpaka and the Sāhityadarpaṇa.

If at least there are verses in any one of the above places there may be a possibility of fixing its date by finding whether any poet who precedes Kuṇṭaka quotes the very same verses, but as it is, there is not even a single verse in any one of the three references found. The date of the drama hence cannot be fixed with certainty and all that we can say is that it preceded the eleventh century.

The following is the extract from the Abhinavabhāratī:—

मन्दकुलानां स्त्रीणां चरित्रं यत्रेत्याहुः । तेन कुलाङ्गनापि तत्र मन्दकुलै-
वेति दर्शितं भवति । एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितके अशोकदत्तादिशब्दा-
कर्णनेन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्कायोपरिवन्धसन्नादोषा (?) निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनि हि नन्द-
न्ती (नन्दिनी) निर्वासने, तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था । इदमेव मुखसन्धौ मूलम् ।

(page 465, Vol. II, A. Bhāratī,) Govt. Oriental Mss. Library.

The following are the two references found in the Vakrokti-
jīvita:—

प्रबन्धावयवानां प्रधानबलसंबन्धनिबन्धानुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभावः स्वभाव-
सुभगप्रतिभाप्रकाशमानः कस्यचिद्विचक्षणः (स्य) वक्त्रचमत्कारिणः कवेरलौकिकं
वक्रिमासंजानलावण्यं समुल्लासयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके द्वितीये अङ्के—

प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्त्यनिबिडानुरागदः (?) नवरायाविभावादर्या (?) अमन्दमदनो-
न्मादमुद्रेण समुद्रदत्तेन निजमहिकेतनं तुल्यदिवसमानन्दयन्ती समाननाय मणि-
मुर्चनेव प्रविशता प्रकंपावेगविकललासकायननिपातनिहितनिद्रस्य द्वारदेश-

शायिनः कुवलयस्योत्कोचकारणं स्वकरादङ्गुलीयकदानं च यत्कृतं तच्चतुर्थेऽङ्के मथुराप्रतिनिवृत्तेन तेनैव शमदमस्य निष्क्रम्य समावेदितसमुद्रदत्तवृत्तान्तेन कुल-कलङ्काकदर्श्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य स्वतनयस्पर्शमानः समाविदूरस्नुषा-शीलशुद्धिमुन्मीलयत्तदुपकाराय कल्पते । तथा च सागरदत्तस्य वचनं “तदङ्गुलीयं सुतनामचिह्नं चरित्रशुद्धिं विसामान्यमुद्यता.....पापस्य भवेत् स शुद्धिः”

(pages 200-201, V. Jīvitam.)

प्रबन्धेषु पूर्वं पूर्वं प्रकरणम् अपरस्मात्परस्य प्रकरणान्तरस्य सरससंपादित-संबन्धसंविदानकसमर्थमाणकता प्राणप्रौढिप्ररूढवक्रतोलेखमाह्लादयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके प्रथमं प्रकरणम्—

अतिदारुणाभिनवप्रवासवेदनानिरानन्दस्य आनन्दयन्निव संमान्यसमाग-तस्य समुद्रतीरे समुद्रदन्तस्योत्कण्ठाप्रकारप्रकाशनं, द्वितीयमपि प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनि-वृत्त्य, निशीथिन्यामुखौ चालङ्कारदानमूकीभूतकुवलयस्य कुसुमपातितायां अना-कलितमेव तस्य सहचरीसङ्गमनम्, तृतीयमपि संभावितकुर्विनयेऽपि नयदत्त-नन्दिनीनिर्व्यासव्यसनतत्समाधाननिबन्धनम्, चतुर्थमपि मथुरां प्रतिनिवृत्तकुव-लयप्रदृश्यमानविमलसंपदः कठोरगर्भभरखिन्नायां स्नुषायां निष्कारणनिष्कासना-दनाहितप्रवृत्तेः महापातकिनमात्मानं मन्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य तीर्थया-त्राप्रवर्तनम्, पञ्चमविवनान्तः न पालपालिकामानन्दयन्त्यालामकालनेन समुद्र-दत्तकुशलोदन्तकथनम्, षष्ठमपि सर्वेषां विचित्रसङ्ख्या समागमाभ्युदयसंपाद-कमिति ॥

(pages 217-212, V. Jīvita).

प्रकरणे नायिका द्विधा—वेश्या कुलजेति । यथा वेश्यैव तरङ्गदत्ते, कुलजैव पुष्पदूषितके ।

(page 90, Daśarūpaka).

(This reference in the commentary of Dhanika does not materially help us, since Abhinavagupta and Dhanika are nearly contemporaries.)

These two long extracts furnish us with the plot of the play.

The son of Sāgaradatta namely Samudradatta, a pleasure-loving youth thinks that the desired joy and happiness in his life are gone, since he has been asked to go on travel. To recreate himself he goes to the sea-shore and there to his pleasant surprise he meets with a girl of extraordinary beauty. Circumstances so conspire that they happen to meet and both look

lovingly and admiringly on each other's forms. Samudradatta gives immediate expression to his struggling love and so does the beautiful girl the daughter of Nayadatta. Thus the first act closes with the mutual reciprocity of love.

Samudradatta returns from his journey in the second act, his heart riddled with the remorseless shafts of Cupid. He never expects that he will again meet the load-star of his eyes but again mysterious fate enables him to meet his beloved. An impetuous youth in the fulness of love invents plots with amazing ease and Samudradatta at dead of night clandestinely takes her to this house where the pining pair exchanges rings.

Retribution comes off in the third act. The love-affair somehow leaks out. The news whips up Sāgaradatta to rage and fury. He finds his family honour tarnished and his son fallen. He thinks that no punishment, however, terrible will compensate for the loss of one's undimmed family honour, but yet in his uncontrollable anger drives out of his house his pregnant daughter-in-law, the source of present misery and disgrace. Anger of men finds its fulfilment in the punishment it inflicts and Sāgaradatta, after all is over, derives solace from the fact that he has discharged his duty well as a dutiful parent.

Penitence of Sāgaradatta is depicted in the fourth act. He understands that his daughter-in-law is pure and chaste from his son's ring on her finger. Nothing smites a man more terribly than the knowledge of one's guilt and Sāgaradatta finds that he is really at fault in driving out of his house his daughter-in-law without minding her advanced stage of pregnancy. To atone for this he goes on a pilgrimage.

The fifth furnishes us with the information about Samudradatta and in the sixth act we find all separated people mysteriously united.

This then is the plot of the drama.

A prakaraṇa can have a heroine of three types, namely, (i) Kulajā, (ii) Veśyā and (iii) both combined as in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In this play the heroine is of the Kulajā type. The *Daśarūpaka* speaks of another prakaraṇa called 'Taraṅgadatta' where the heroine is portrayed as a Veśyā. In the *Rasārṇava-Sudhāhara* we find another prakaraṇa called the *Kāmadatta*, where also the heroine is of the Veśyā type.

A NOTE ON THE PUṢPADŪṢĪTAKA

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The drama according to Kuṇṭaka is of a superior type. The events are so artistically portrayed that the reader is always on the alert to know the succeeding development.

That the Puṣpadūṣitaka is also known as Puṣpabhūṣitaka we learn from the Sāhityadarpaṇa. As observed at the outset the date of the drama precedes the first quarter of XI century.

TANTRAYUKTI

BY

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Important and interesting is the expression *tantrayukti* occurring frequently in Classical Sanskrit Literature. It is the title of the fifteenth Book of the Kauṭaliya Artha-śāstra. J. J. Meyer has rendered it *gestaltungs verfahren* (Das Altindische Buch. P. 663). Shāma-śāstrī translates it as the 'plan of a treatise.' (Trans. P. 493, second ed.). This book of the Artha-śāstra gives in outline a scheme on which the construction of the whole treatise is based. Methods are furnished with their respective characteristics explained lucidly with simple instances. The *yuktis* mentioned in the Kauṭaliya are thirty-two and mark a definite period in the history of the principles of exposition adopted in ancient treatises.

Before we proceed to examine the thirty-two principles as enumerated in the Artha-śāstra, it is interesting to note that they were handled and treated by other well-known writers. Among these we may mention the celebrated *bhāṣyakāra*—Vātsyāyana, Suśrutācārya, Carakācārya, Tolkāppiyāṇār, and the author of the *Tantrayukti-vicāra*, a later work apparently of the 8th century A.D. (Published in the Śrī Vānchisetu Lakṣmi series No. 10, Trivandrum, 1928).

Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* is familiar with the principles of exposition technically known as *tantrayukti*. The date of this author is still a bone of contention among scholars. There is, however, sufficient justification to assign to him fourth century before Christ. In commenting on the fourth sūtra of the first *ānṛika* of the first *adhyāya*, Vātsyāyana concludes that portion of his gloss with the following statement—

“परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतमिति हि तन्त्रयुक्तिः ।”

Nyāyadarśana, p. 70, (Chowkhamba Sans. Series).

“To state another's view and not to refute it would imply that it has been accepted:—this is *anumata* according to *Tantrayukti*.”

The Kauṭaliyan statement of this principle, under the head *anumata*, is as follows :—

“परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।”

(P. 429, Mysore, II ed.).

By using almost the very words Vātsyāyana shows himself indebted to the Artha-śāstra, which devotes a special chapter to this topic.

Again it is interesting to know that these principles of interpretation are mentioned by another author of repute, Suśrutācārya, whose Suśrutasaṁhitā still holds the field as an ancient medical treatise. (There is an authoritative translation of this work in the Bibliotheca Indica series—Asiatic society of Bengal). The Tantrayukti-vicāra, to which a reference has already been made, has the following quotation from Suśruta.

सुश्रुताचार्यस्तु तन्त्रयुक्तयो द्वात्रिंशदित्यभिप्रेति । यथा—“द्वात्रिंश-
तन्त्रयुक्तयो भवन्ति शास्त्रे । तद्यथा—अधिकरणं योगः पदार्थो हेत्वर्थ उद्देशो
निर्देश उपदेशोऽपदेशः प्रदेशोऽतिदेशोऽपवर्जो वाक्यशेषोऽर्थापत्तिर्विपर्ययः प्रसङ्ग
एकान्तोऽनेकान्तः पूर्वपक्षो निर्णयोऽनुमतं विधानमनागतावेक्षणमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणं
संशयो व्याख्यानं स्वसंज्ञा निर्वचनं निदर्शनं नियोगो विकल्पः समुच्चय
ऊह्यमिति । ”

P. 3.

The texts above quoted seem to be a verbatim copy of the Kauṭaliya, the same technical expressions appearing excepting two—अनेकान्त and निर्णय, which are only synonyms for उपमान and उत्तरपक्ष of the Artha-śāstra. From the above passage it can be gathered that the author of this Saṁhitā has taken these thirty-two methods of exposition from a Śāstra, and evidently the Artha-śāstra. It is also reasonable to assume that Suśruta lived not far from the time of Kauṭalya to whom fourth century before Christ is generally assigned. What is of special interest is that, by the time of Suśrutācārya, the Artha-śāstra had won the status of a Śāstra. That the Kauṭaliyan text is the original cannot be in the least doubted. If it is a quotation, Kauṭalya would have made it explicit as in other places of the work.

Another authority in the Science of Medicine, Carakācārya, refers to the *tantrayukti* but his number is thirty-five, adding three more to what Kauṭalya and Suśruta have enumerated. The principles of Caraka are, however, classified as thirty-six by

Saṅgrahakāra Vāhaṭācārya and accepted by the author of the extant Tantrayukti-vicāra. (See P. 3 of the Tantrayukti-vicāra). The following quotation from Caraka is given in the Tantrayukti-vicāra:—

“पञ्चत्रिंशद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः ।
 तन्त्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थः पदस्य च ॥
 प्रदेशोद्देशनिर्देशवाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम् ।
 उपदेशापदेशातिदेशार्थापत्तिनिर्णयाः ॥
 प्रसङ्गैकान्तनैकान्ताः सापवर्गो विपर्ययः ।
 पूर्वपक्षविधानानुमतव्याख्यानसंशयाः ॥
 अतीतानागतापेक्षास्वसंज्ञो ह्यसमुच्चयाः ।
 निदर्शनं निर्वचनं संनियोगो विकल्पनम् ॥
 प्रत्युत्सारस्तथोद्धारः सम्भवस्तन्त्रयुक्तयः ।
 तन्त्रे व्याससमासाभ्यां भवन्त्येतानि कृत्स्नशः ॥”

The four additions of Caraka are *Prayojana*, *Pratyutsāra*, *Uddhāra* and *Sambhava*. It is clear that Caraka must have flourished a considerable time after Suśruta. According to tradition Caraka is also an ancient writer.

The next writer on the subject is Tolkāppiyaṇār, the versatile Tamil grammarian. His work, the well known *Tolkāppiyam*, holds the field of Tamil literature as a fruitful source of information for reconstructing the ancient culture of the Tamils. It is again unfortunate that the date of this great writer is not yet settled with any satisfaction. The lower limit may, however, be first century after Christ. Evidences are not lacking to assign to him a much earlier date. But what we are concerned with at present is his mention of *tantra-yukti* and that thirty-two in number, evidently earlier than Caraka in point of time. It is reasonable to assume that Tolkāppiyaṇār based his principles of interpretation on the model of the extant *Artha-śāstra*. Out of the thirty-two principles enumerated in the *Poruḷatikāram* section of the *Tolkāppiyam*, as many as twenty-two agree with those in the *Kauṭaliya* as I shall show in the sequel. Though the total number agrees, still there is a difference in the enumeration of those principles. It is safe to conjecture that Tolkāppiyaṇār adopted such of the principles as served his purpose and formulated others so as to fit in with the plan of his work—a treatise on grammar.

Tantrayukti became so important a topic with the writers beginning with Kauṭalya that it called for a special treatise like the Tantrayukti-vicāra about 8th century A.D. This latter work also explains, like the Kauṭaliya, every principle with examples. I am giving below categorically the thirty-two principles as found explained in the Kauṭaliya, in the Tantrayukti-vicāra and the Tolkāppiyam, in so far as they agree with one another. In the following list I have left out of account those principles in the Tantrayukti-vicāra and the Tolkāppiyam which do not coincide with those in the Artha-śāstra.

(1) That division of the book which centres round a chief topic and deals wholly with that topic.

यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरणम् । Ar. Śās.

तत्राधारोऽधिकरणं तात्पर्यं तत्र तिष्ठति । T. Y. V. (1).

நுதலியதறிதல்—Sūtra 666 (1).

(2) The subject of treatment in due order.

शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम् । Ar. Śās.

अनन्वितानामर्थानां विधानं संविधानकृत् । T. Y. V. (21).

அநிகாரமுறைமை (2).

(3) Construing words with one another, in sentences.

एवमादिकमिति वाक्ययोजना योगः । Ar. Śās.

योगः पदानामेकैकमर्थौचित्येन योजना । T. Y. V. (2).

(4) Signification of words.

पदावधिकः पदार्थः । Ar. Śās.

पदार्थस्तु पदैक्येऽपि भिन्नमर्थं प्रकाशयेत् । T. Y. V. (4).

(5) Proof of a statement.

हेतुरर्थसाधको हेत्वर्थः । Ar. Śās.

हेत्वर्थो हेतुनैव स्यात् तत्तदर्थप्रकाशनम् । T. Y. V. (3).

(6) Brief enumeration.

समासवाक्यमुद्देशः । Ar. Śās.

उद्देशः समवायोक्तिरिति प्राहुर्मनीषिणः । T. Y. V. (6).

தொகுத்தமொழியான் வகுத்தனர் கோடல் (22).

- (7) Exposition in the order of enumeration.

व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः । Ar. Śās.

निर्देशः स्यात् विवरणं पूर्वोक्तानामनुक्रमात् । T. Y. V. (7).

சொல்லினைச் சச்சுஞ் சொல்லியாங் குணர்த்தல் (28).

- (8) Specific direction.

एवं वर्तितव्यमित्युपदेशः । Ar. Śās.

उपदेश इदं त्वेवमेवं त्वादीनकल्पना । T. Y. V. (10).

முறைபிறழாமையெ (12).

- (9) Mention of other's opinion by the side of one's own.

एवमसावाहेत्युपदेशः । Ar. Śās.

अपदेशस्तु कण्ठोक्तं वाक्यमर्थेन दर्शयेत् । T. Y. V. (11).

பிறன்கோட்கூறல் (24).

- (10) Application by analogy.

उक्तेन साधनमतिदे : । Ar. Śās.

अतिदेशस्तु पूर्वोक्तन्यायस्यान्यानुषङ्गिता । T. Y. V. (12).

ஒருதலைமொழிதல் (10).

- (11) Maintaining something by what is to be mentioned later on.

वक्तव्येन साधनं प्रदेशः । Ar. Śās.

प्रदेशः क्वचिदुक्तानामन्यतोक्तैः समेतता । T. Y. V. (5).

மொழிவாமென்றல் (16).

- (12) Explaining the unknown by the known.

दृष्टेनादृष्टस्य साधनमुपमानम् । Ar. Śās.

- (13) Presumption from the circumstances of the case.

यदनुक्तमर्थ्यादापद्यते साऽर्थ्यापत्तिः । Ar. Śās.

अर्थ्यापत्तिः सहोक्तैर्म्योऽप्येकस्यार्थोऽन्यथापद्यते । T. Y. V. (13).

மொழிந்த பொருளோ டொன்றவல்லவின்
மொழியாததனை முட்டின்று முடித்தல் (5).

- (14) Doubt arising from two equally good alternatives.

उभयतो हेतुमानर्थाः संशयः । Ar. Śās.

निर्धारितानामर्थानामव्यवस्था तु संशयः । T. Y. V. (24).

(15) A reference to similar things mentioned in a previous section.

प्रकरणान्तरेण समानोऽर्थः प्रसङ्गः । Ar. Śās.

प्रसङ्गः पूर्वमुक्तानां भूयोऽपि प्रतिपादनम् । T. Y. V. (15).

(16) Indication by contrast.

प्रतिलोमेन साधनं विपर्ययः । Ar. Śās.

उक्तार्थवैपरीत्येन लक्षणं स्याद्विपर्ययः । T. Y. V. (19).

முந்துமொழிந்ததன் றலைதமொற்று (8).

(17) Supply of omissions in a sentence.

येन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्यविशेषः । Ar. Śās.

वाक्यशेषो विशिष्टार्थदायिनी वाक्यलक्षणा । T. Y. V. (8).

வாராததரண் வந்தது முடித்தல் (6).

(18) Quotation from another authority without dissent.

परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् । Ar. Śās.

अपास्यानुमतं पक्षानात्मपक्षव्यवस्थितिः । T. Y. V. (22).

பிறனுடம்பட்டது தானுடம்படுதல் (13),

(19) Exposition of one's own statement.

अतिशयवर्णना व्याख्यानम् । Ar. Śās.

व्याख्यानमात्मनोक्तानामात्मनैवार्थभाषणम् । T. Y. V. (23).

வகுத்து மெய்ந் நிறுத்தல் (4).

(20) Derivation of the word.

गुणतः शब्दनिष्पत्तिर्निर्वचनम् । Ar. Śās.

तत् स्यान्निर्वचनं येन वाक्यस्यार्थः प्रदर्श्यते । T. Y. V. (31).

பொருளிலை யிடுதல் (26).

(21) Illustration by example.

दृष्टान्तो दृष्टान्तयुक्तो निदर्शनम् । Ar. Śās.

निदर्शनं त्वसम्भाव्योऽप्यर्थो येन समर्थ्यते । T. Y. V. (30).

(22) Exceptions to a general rule.

अभिप्लुतव्यषकर्षणमपवर्गः । Ar. Śās.

अपवर्गस्तु अनौचित्यादितरोक्त्यपवर्जनम् । T. Y. V. (18).

(23) One's own terminology.

परैरसमितः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा । Ar. Śās.

स्वसंज्ञा सा तु या संज्ञा स्वतन्त्रेष्वेव दृश्यते । T. Y. V. (27).

தான் குறியீடுதல் (18).

(24) The *prima facie* argument of a question.

प्रतिषेद्धव्यं वाक्यं पूर्वपक्षः । Ar. Śās.

पूर्वपक्षस्तु पूर्वेषां पक्षेष्वप्यात्मपक्षता । T. Y. V. (20).

(25) The deciding part of the argument.

तस्य निर्णयनवाक्यमुत्तरपक्षः । Ar. Śās.

निर्णयः स्थापयेदर्धमनेकविधमेकधा । T. Y. V. (14).

மறுதலை சிதைத்துத் தன் மூணி புரைத்தல் (23).

(26) Settled rules which hold good everywhere.

सर्वत्रायत्तमेकान्तः । Ar. Śās.

एकान्त एवमेवैष नान्यथेति व्यवस्थितिः । T. Y. V. (16).

ஆணைகூறல் (21).

(27) References to subsequent portions.

पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् । Ar. Śās.

भवेदनागतापेक्षा भावितार्थप्रदर्शनम् । T. Y. V. (26)

எதிர்துபோற்றல் (15).

(28) References to previous portions.

पुरस्तादेवं विहितमित्यतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम् । Ar. Śās.

भवेदतीतापेक्षा सा भूयोऽप्युक्तव्यपेक्षिता । T. Y. V. (25).

கூற்றிற்றென்றல் (17).

(29) Restriction—'Thus and not otherwise,'.

एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः । Ar. Śās.

नियोगोऽतद्विधानां तु तद्विधत्वनियोजना । T. Y. V. (32).

தன்கோட்கூறல் (11).

(30) Option—'This or that'.

अनेन वानेन वेति विकल्पः । Ar. Śās.

विकल्पनमनिर्धार्यमर्थं प्रति विवेचनम् । T. Y. V. (33).

(31) Combination—'This and that'.

अनेन चानेन चेति समुच्चयः । Ar. Śās.

समुच्चयस्तु योग्यत्वमुक्तानां तु प्रदर्शयेत् । T. Y. V. (29).

(32) To do a thing that is inferable and not explicit.

अनुक्तकरणमूह्यम् । Ar. Śās.

ऊह्यमुक्तानुसारेण विशिष्टार्थविवेकिता । T. Y. V. (28).

அறியா துடம்படல் (25).

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF MĀGHA.

BY

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It is agreed at present on almost all hands that Māgha, the author of the Śīsupālavadha should have flourished in the 8th Century of the Christian Era. On the strength of a particular interpretation of verse, 112 in canto 2, Māgha is taken to be later than Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Nyāsa on Vāmana's Kaśikā. The following reference throws some doubt on this accepted date.

Ujjvaladatta in his Uṇādi Sūtra Vṛtti, while commenting upon the Sūtra अचिञ्चिहसृपिच्छादिछर्दिभ्य इति: (II—109.) observes as follows :—

आविःकृतमाविःकारः ।

“वारुणीमदविशङ्कमथावि-

श्वक्षुषोऽभवदसाविव रागः ॥

(Śīsupālavadha, X—19)

माघे व्यवहितप्रयोगः प्रमादज इति भागवृत्तिः ॥

According to Ujjvaladatta, the author of the Bhāgavṛtti finds fault with Māgha for using आविः separately from अभवत्.

Bhāgavṛtti is one of the lost works of the famous Grammarian and Philosopher, Bhartṛhari. It is unnecessary to refer to the proofs regarding Bhartṛhari's authorship of the Bhāgavṛtti. We know from other evidences that Bhartṛhari died about 650 A.D. If Ujjvaladatta were right, it will not be too much to conjecture that Māgha was certainly older than Bhartṛhari.

This may come into conflict with the interpretation that seeks to find a reference to the Nyāsa in the verse of the Śīsupālavadha. Perhaps the only solution will be to explain that passage as containing no allusion to the Nyāsa mentioned above.

Relying upon the evidence cited above, we may tentatively take him to be older than 650 A. D. He might have belonged to the beginning of the century or even to the previous one.

LITERARY NOTES.

BY

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श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
 वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
 उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
 हन्तैकस्मिन् कचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ॥

Megha. II-37.

This is the first of the nine *śloka*s containing the message of the Yakṣa to his beloved in the Meghasandēśa of Kālidāsa. It was the subject of discussion one evening among a few friends interested in the study of Sanskrit literature who lingered on for some time after the close of a business meeting of the Sanskrit Academy in the house of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. These notes are the outcome of this literary *tete-a-tete*. What is the exact import of the word *Caṇḍī*, in the above *śloka* and is the reading 'Bhīru' preferable? The latter is found in Abhinavagupta's reference to this *śloka* in his *locana* while the former reading occurs in many editions of the Meghasandēśa including the Vani Vilas Edition with the valuable commentary of Pūrṇa Sarasvatī. It is also found in the manuscript marked 'Ga' of the Dhvanyāloka, which is, I understand, generally believed to be a southern one. As our readers are aware, this stanza occurs in a context, wherein the Yakṣa is depicting to his beloved the agony of his separation from her, rendered more intense by his fruitless attempts to indulge in what are known to Sanskrit literary convention as *virahavinodas* with the laudable object of assuaging his mental anguish. One of such *vinodas* is the contemplation of resemblances to the beloved in the objects of beauty around. In the above *śloka* is described how this becomes

impossible and how it accentuates his grief. The dictionary meaning of the word "*Caṇḍī*" is *koṇānā* (*vide Śabdakalpādruma*) and in English 'a passionate or angry woman (Apte's Sanskrit—English Dictionary). More correctly and effectively rendered, it means 'a highly sensitive lady of self-respect'. The idea suggested by the epithet '*Caṇḍī*' as applied to the lady is that, being a sensitive and proud woman she does not brook comparison or even the thought of her lover looking for other objects of comparison. Hence the Yakṣa reconciles her by saying, as it were "Do not feel hurt, sensitive lady. You stand unrivalled in beauty. There is no object in the world worthy of comparison with you". While, therefore, the *vyatirekālāṅkāra* in the stanza serves to enhance the effect and beauty of the *Vipralambha Rāsa* of the context, the *sambodhana* '*Caṇḍī*' completes the full artistic effect of the entire scene pictured by the Yakṣa when the words fall on the ears of his beloved. All this, certainly, is not far-fetched and can be said to be deliberately intended by the poet. The poet at one stroke reveals the complicated psychology of the Yakṣa's mind wherein the joy of the æsthetic appreciation of the incomparable beauty of his mistress is mingled with grief at the dearth of all *viraha-vinodas*. The reading '*Bhīru*' adopted by Abhinavagupta suggests an explanation why no other object of beauty is found to rival his beloved. According to him, it means that just as a person who possesses a priceless treasure is afraid of keeping it all in one place, so the resemblances are in part found scattered in many objects around. Beyond strengthening the effect of the *vyatirekālāṅkāra*, it has no literary flair at all. It is, indeed, curious that the greatest literary critic of Sanskrit literature should have adopted this reading. But it may be he did not deliberately choose between the two readings but only adopted that which was current during his period in his part of the country. A friend of mine, for whose proficiency and taste I have great regard, felt that all this was weariness of the tongue, as '*Caṇḍī*' is only a term of endearment applied to one's mistress. He is, to some extent, supported by Mr. Apte in his Dictionary. But the question must be decided by the clue derived from the sense in which the word is used by Kālidāsa in many places in his works. A cursory reading of his works reveals the few instances noted below and it is clear that nowhere the poet rests content with its use as a term of endearment only.

Let our readers who are all Sahrdayas decide.

1. सा किलाश्वासिता चण्डी भर्त्रा तत्संश्रुतौ वरौ ।

(Raghu. XII. 5).

2. करेण वातायनलम्बितेन स्पृष्टस्त्वया चण्डि कुतूहलिन्या ।

(Raghu. XIII. 21).

3. चरणपतितया न चण्डि तां विसृजसि मेखलयापि याचिता ।

(Malavikā. Act III, sl. 20).

4. चण्डी चण्डं हन्तुमभ्युद्यता माम् ।

(Ibid. 21).

5. चण्डी मामवधूय पादपतितं जातानुकम्पेव सा ।

(Vikrama. Act IV, sl. 28).

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A PRIMER OF HINDUISM by Professor D. S. Sarma.

We congratulate Mr. D. S. Sarma on this beautiful brochure so opportunely brought out at the present time. It is quite appropriately dedicated to the memory of his daughter, Gargi, whose meteoric career on earth illustrates the truth of one of the cardinal beliefs of the Hindu faith *viz.*, the doctrine of Karma and reincarnation. She is represented as the interlocutor in the Primer, written in the form of a dialogue. Even in its form, it reminds every parent of the primary duty of giving religious instruction to his children. The book presents in a modern garb the essential principles of the Hindu religion underlying the apparently diverse and conflicting systems of thought, practice and worship dividing its votaries. He has dealt with them under three aspects referred to as 'the three ascents.' As the learned Professor remarks succinctly at Page 107, "the moral discipline of the first ascent leads to the mental illumination of the second which, in its turn, leads to the spiritual vision of the third." This sums up the fundamental outlook of the Hindu religion on life and all the varied rituals, beliefs, modes of worship and different schools which have sprung up during all the changing periods of the History of the Hindu religious thought in India have been directed towards the progress of the individual soul along these three steps. Carping critics have from time to time directed their whole attention to one particular excrescence or other without understanding the goal and aim and practical outlook of the Hindu religion in regard to the problems of life. And so it has been called all names as a religion of countless gods, hide-bound caste organisations and a bundle of superstitions sinking to the level of animism and devilry. Prof. Sarma in this book, while strictly adhering to the traditional interpretation of the essential doctrines of Hinduism, has presented them in a scientific garb so as to satisfy the questioning mind of the present-day student. The supreme necessity for religious education in our schools and colleges has been realised by all those interested in our national education and this Primer eminently satisfies the need for a text-book for such education in our Schools.

We have great pleasure in recommending very strongly this book to the managements and Headmasters of all schools throughout the country.

K. BALASUBRAHMANI IYER.

✓ SANSKRITA PATHAVALIH by Y. Mahalinga Sastri, B.A., B.L.
Although there are many Sanskrit Readers now in the field, almost all of them are more designed for the use of a beginner of the alphabets than for a student with a fair knowledge of Sanskrit in reading and writing. Some of them are either abridgements of original prose works or wholesale adaptations from single works, thus lacking variety and the consequent interest which are so essential for a student continuing his higher studies. The attempt of Mr. Y. Mahalinga Sastri in his *Saṃskṛta Pāṭhāvaliḥ* is to provide young boys with a book which was a long-felt necessity.

The author should be congratulated particularly on the judgment he has shown in selecting the pieces, which are at once delightful and instructive and in arranging them in the order of difficulty. His intelligent adaptation of a few familiar English poems and stories and abridgements of portions from well-known Sanskrit classics tend to enhance the utility of the Reader. Simple and lucid expression is a salient feature of the book. We venture to think that the Reader is the best of its kind for the students of the secondary schools.

T. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

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If *ü* at the end of *vanroṭarmoli* or *menroṭarmoli* is followed by a word commencing with a voiceless consonant, the latter is doubled; and in the case of *menroṭarmoli*, the nasal within it is also replaced by the corresponding voiceless consonant. Ex. *kokkü + kāl = kokkü-k-kāl*; *kurañkü + cevi = kurakkü-c-cevi* etc.

416. *Marapṭeyark kiḷavik kammē cūriyai.*

(If the above-mentioned *vanroṭarmoli* or *menroṭarmoli*) is the name of a tree, the flexional increment 'am' is inserted after it. Ex. *tēkkü + kōṭū = tēkkü + am + kōṭū = tēkkañkōṭū*; *vēmpū + tōl = vēppantōl* etc.

417. *Melloṛru valiyā marapṭeyaru muḷavē.*

There are *menroṭarmoli* denoting trees which do not allow the nasals within them replaced by the corresponding voiceless consonants. Ex. *punḱü + tōl = punḱantōl* etc.

418. *Īreluttu moliyum valloṛrut toṭaru*
Mammiṭai vararḱu muriyavai yuḷavē
Yammara poluku molivayi nāṇa.

There are some in *īreluttorumoli* and *valloṛru-t-toṭarmoli* which take the flexional increment 'am' after them. Such words can be ascertained only from usage. Ex. *ērū + kōl = ērañkōl*; *purṛū + palañcōṛū = purṛampalañcōṛū* etc.

419. *Oṛrunilai tiriyā takkoṭu varūu*
Makkilāi moliyu muḷavena molipa.

It is said that there are some (among *menroṭarmoli*) which do not have their nasals replaced by corresponding voiceless consonants, but take the flexional increment 'akkü' after them. Ex. *kunṛū + kūkai = kunṛū + akkü + kūkai = kunṛa-k-kūkai*.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 129.

420. *Enṇupṭeyark kiḷavi yurupiya nīlaiyum.*

Words (ending in *ü*) and denoting number undergo the same change in sandhi (when they are followed by words) as when they are followed by case-suffixes (i.e.), they take the flexional increment 'an' after them. Ex. *onṛū + kāyam = onṛan-kāyam*.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 199.

421. *Vanṭum peṇṭu minṇoṭu civaṇum.*

The words *vanṭu* and *peṇṭu* take the increment 'in' after them. Ex. *vanṭū + kāl = vanṭinkāl*; *peṇṭinkāl* etc.

422. *Peṇṭeṇ kiḷavik kannum varaiyār.*

No one prevents the word *peṇṭū* taking *aṇ* also after it.
Ex. *peṇṭū + kai = peṇṭaṇ-kai.*

423. *Yāle ṇirutiṇṇuṇ cuṭṭumuta lākiya*
Vāyta viṇutiṇṇu muruṇṇiya ṇilaiyum.

The words *yātū*, *a : tū*, *i : tū* and *u : tū* undergo the same change in sandhi (when they are followed by words) as when they are followed by case suffixes (*i.e.*), the increment '*aṇ*' is inserted after them. Ex. *yātāṇkōṭū*, *atāṇkōṭū* etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 201.

424. *Muṇṇuyir varumiṭal tāytaṭ puḷḷi*
Mannal vēṇṭu malvali yāṇa.

∴ is not dropped in *a : tū*, *i : tū* and *u : tū* in *non-case-relation sandhi*, if the coming word commences with a vowel.
Ex. *a : tū + āṭai = a : tāṭai* etc.

425. *Ēṇaimuṇ varinē tāṇilai yinrē.*

∴ is dropped in such words if the coming word does not commence with a vowel. Ex. *a : tū + kaṭitū = atū kaṭitū* etc.

426. *Allatu kiḷappi ṇellā moliyūṇ*
Colliya paṇṇi ṇiyarkai yākum.

In *non-case-relation sandhi* the changes in all classes of words ending in *ū* are the same as those mentioned before.

427. *Vallorrut toṭarmoli valleluttu mikumē.*

If *vallorruttoṭarmoli* is followed by a voiceless consonant, the latter is doubled. Ex. *kokkū + kaṭitū = kokkū-k-kaṭitū* etc.

428. *Cuṭṭuccinai nīṭiya menroṭar moliyūṇ*
Yāvinā mutaliya menroṭar moliyū
Māyiya ririyā vallelutt tiyarkai.

Such *menroṭarmoli* as commence with the lengthened form of demonstrative roots or as are words of interrogation and commence with *yā* are of the same nature in sandhi as *vallorruttoṭarmoli* (if they are followed by a voiceless consonant) (*i.e.*), the voiceless consonant, is doubled. Ex. *āṅkū-k-koṇṭāṇ*; *yāṅkū-k-koṇṭāṇ* etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 427.

429. *Yāvinā moliyē yiyalpu māṅkum.*

The interrogative words commencing with *yā* may also remain without having the succeeding voiceless consonant doubled. Ex. *yāṅkū koṇṭāṇ* etc.

430. *Annāṇ molīyūn tannilai tiriyā.*

The above four (*i. e.*, āṅkū, īṅkū, ūṅkū and yāṅkū) do not have their nasals replaced by voiceless consonants.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 415.

431. *Uṇṭen kilavi yuṇmai ceppin*
Muntai yirūti meyyoṭuṇ ketutalu
Mēṇilai yorrē lakāra mātalū
Māmurai yiraṇṭu murimaiyu muṭaittē
Vallēluttu varūṇ kālai yāṇa.

If the word uṇṭu denotes existence and is followed by a voiceless consonant, ṭu may be dropped and l may be substituted for ṇ. Ex. uṇṭu + poruḷ = uḷ poruḷ or uṇṭu poruḷ.

432. *Iruticai puṇari nēyitai varumē.*

If words denoting two different directions are combined, ē is inserted between them. Ex. terḱu + vaṭakkū = terḱē vaṭakkū etc.

433. *Tiripuvēru kilappi norru mirutiyuṇ*
Ketutal vēṇṭu menmaṇār pulava
Rorrumey tirintu nakāra mākun
Terkoṭu puṇaruṇ kālai yāṇa.

Learned men say that, if the intermediate directions are meant, the final ū and its preceding consonant of the standing word is dropped; and if terḱu happens to be the standing word, r also is changed to ṇ. Ex. vaṭakilakkū, vaṭamērḱū; tenkilakkū, tenmērḱū.

434. *Onrumuta lāka vetṭa niruti*
Yellā venṇum pattaṇ muṇvarir
Kurriya lukara meyyoṭuṇ ketumē
Murra viṇvarū miraṇṭalan kaṭaiyē.

If pattū is the standing word and is followed by words denoting number from one to eight except two, the final tū is dropped and in is inserted. Ex. pattū + onrū = patin-onrū; patin-mūnṇū etc.

435. *Patta norrukkeṭa nakāra miraṭṭa*
Lotta tenṭa viranṭu varukālai.

If pattū is followed by iraṇṭū, ttū is dropped and ṇṇ is inserted between them. Ex. pattū + iraṇṭū = panniraṇṭū.

436. *Āyiram varinṇu māyiya ririyātū.*

If pattū is followed by āyiram, the same change (as mentioned in sūtra 434) takes place. Ex. patin-āyiram.

437. *Niraiyu maḷavum varūuṇ kālaiyuṇ*
Kuraiyā tāku miṇṇen cāriyai.

If pattu is followed by words denoting weight and measure, the flexional increment 'in' is invariably inserted (and the final tu is dropped). Ex. patin kalañcū; patinpalam; patinkalam.

438. *Oṇṇumuta loṇṇā nṇṇuti munṇar*
Ninṇa patta norṇukkeṭa vāytam
Vantiṭai nilaiyu miyarkait tenṇa
Kūriya viyarkai kurriya lukara
Māra nṇṇuti yalvali yāna.

It is said that, if the words denoting from one to nine are standing words and are followed pattu, t following a of pattu is replaced by ṣ, the final u with its preceding consonants of the standing words is dropped except in the word āṇu denoting six.

Note.—This is a general sūtra which must be taken along with the following seven sūtras.

439. *Mutalī reṇṇinorru rakara māku*
Mukaram varuta lāvayi nāna.

In the case of the first two numbers (*i. e.*), oṇṇu and iranṇu, n and ṇ are respectively replaced by r followed by u. Ex. oṇṇu + pattu = oṇ + pa : tu = orupa : tu.

440. *Iṭainilai rakara miranṇe reṇṇinṇu*
Nataimarun kinṇē poruḷvayi nāna.

'Ra' following i in the word iranṇu is dropped. Ex. iranṇu + pattu = iran + pa : tu = iraru + pa : tu = irupa : tu.

441. *Mūṇṇu māṇu neṭumutal kurukum*
Mūṇṇa norṇē pakāra mākum.

The long vowels of mūṇṇu and āṇu is shortened, and n of mūṇṇu is replaced by p. Ex. mūṇṇu + pattu = mūṇ + pa : tu = muppa : tu; āṇu + pattu = āṇu + pa : tu = aṇupa : tu.

442. *Nāṇka norṇē rakāra mākum.*

N of nāṇkū is replaced by r. Ex. nāṇkū + pattu = nāṇ + pa : tu = nārpa : tu.

443. *Ainta norṇē makāra mākum.*

N of aintu is changed to m. Ex. aintu + pattu = ain + pa : tu = aimpa : tu.

444. *Etṭa norṇē nakāra mākum.*

T of etṭu is changed to ṇ. Ex. etṭu + pattu = eṭ + pa : tu = eṇpa : tu.

445. *Onpā nokaramicait takara morru*
Muntai yorrē nakāra mirattum
Pa.: ten kilavi yāyapaka raṅkeṭa
Nirral vēṇṭu mūkarak kilavi
Yorriya takaram rakara mākam.

When onpatū and pattū are combined together, t is inserted before onpatū, n is replaced by ṇ, pa.: of pa.:tū (the modified form of pattū according to sūtra 438) is dropped, ū is inserted before the final tū of pa.:tū and t of tū is changed to r. Cf.—onpatū + pattū = onpa + pa.:tū (sūtra 438) = tonṇpa + ūrū = tonṇūrū.

Note 1.—The loss of pa of onpa is not mentioned here or elsewhere.

Note 2.—This sūtra clearly shows that even at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, the true derivation of tonṇūrū was forgotten.

446. *Alantari kilaviyu niraiviṇ kilaviyūn*
Kilanta viyala tōṇruṇ kālai.

When words denoting measure and weight stand as coming words and words denoting numbers from one to nine are standing words, the change in sandhi will be the same as mentioned above (i. e.), as when the coming word is pattū. Ex. orukalam, irukalam etc.; orutoṭi, irutoṭi etc.

447. *Mūṇra norrē vanta tokkam.*

N of mūṇrū is replaced by the voiceless consonant that commences the coming word. Ex. mukkalam etc.; muppalam etc.

448. *Ainta norrē mellelut tākam.*

N of aintū is replaced by the nasal (corresponding to the voiceless consonant that commences the coming word). Ex. ainkalam etc.; aimpalam.

449. *Kacatapa mutanmolī varūuṇ kālai.*

The changes mentioned above (i. e., in sūtras 447 & 448) take place when the coming word commences with k, c, t or p.

450. *Namava venṇu mūṇroṭu civaṇi*
Yakaram varinu mettāṇmu ṇiyalpē.

T of eṭṭū is replaced by ṇ even when the coming word commences with n, m, v or a. Ex. eṇṇālī, eṇmaṇṭai, eṇvaṭṭi, eṇṇakal etc.

451. *Aintu mūṇru namavaru kālai*
Vanta tokku morriya ṇilaiyē.

N of aintü and n of münrü are changed to n or m according as the initial of the coming word is n or m. Ex. ainnāli, aimmaṇṭai, munnāli, mummaṇṭai.

452. *Mūnra norrē vakaram varuvaḷit*
Tōṇṛiya vakarat turuvā kummē.

N of münrü is changed to v if the coming word commences with v. Ex. muvvaṭṭi etc.

453. *Nāṇka norrē lakūra mākuṁ.*

N of nāṅkü is changed to l if the coming word commences with v. Ex. nālvvaṭṭi.

454. *Ainta norrē muntaiyalu keṭumē.*

N of aintü is dropped when the coming word commences with v. Ex. aivvaṭṭi.

455. *Mutālī renṇinṇu nuyirvaru kālait*
Tavalēna molīpa vukarak kiḷavi
Mutaṇilai nīṭa lāvayi nāṇa.

It is said that, if onrü and iraṇṭü are standing words and coming words commence with a vowel, u of their modified forms orü and iru is dropped and their initial vowels are lengthened. Ex. onrü + ulakkü = orü + ulakkü (by sūtra 446) = ōruḷakkü; iruḷakkü etc.

456. *Mūṇru nāṅku mainteṇ kiḷaviyun*
Tōṇṛiya vakarat tiyarkai yākuṁ.

If münrü, nāṅkü and aintü are standing words and (if the coming words commence with a vowel), the change in sandhi is the same as when the coming words commence with v. Ex. muvvaḷakkü, nāluḷakkü, aiyuḷakkü etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 452 to 454.

457. *Mūṇraṇ mutaṇilai nīṭalu murittē*
Yulakkeṇ kiḷavi vaḷakkat tāṇa.

Usage allows the lengthening of the first vowel of münrü when it is followed by the word ulakkü. Ex. mū-v-ulakkü.

458. *Āren kiḷavi mutaṇi tumṁē.*

(When the coming words commence with a vowel), the initial ā of ārü which was shortened by the general rule, will resume its original form. Ex. ārü + akal = āṛakal.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 441 & 446.

459. *Onpā ṇiruti yurupunilai tiriyā*
Tinperal vēṇṭuṇ cāriyai moliyē.

When *onpatū* is the standing word (and when words denoting measure and weight are coming words), it does not undergo any modification in its form and the flexional increment 'in' is added after it. Ex. *onpatiṅkalam* etc.

460. *Nūrumun varinun kūriya viyalpē.*

The same change as is mentioned above [(i. e.), when the coming word is *pattū*] takes place (when words denoting from one to nine are standing words) and the coming word is *nūrū*. Ex. *orunūrū*, *irunūrū* etc.

461. *Mūṇra norrē nakāra māḱum.*

N of *mūnrū* is replaced by n. Ex. *munnūrū*.

462. *Nāṅku maintu morrumey tiriyā.*

N of *nāṅkū* and n of *aintū* do not undergo any change. Ex. *nānūrū*; *ainnūrū*.

463. *Onpān mutanilai muntukilan tarrē*

muntai yorrē lakāra mirattu

Nūreṇ kiḷavi nakāra meykēṭa

Ūā vāku miyarkait tenṭa

Vāyitai varuta likāra rakāra

Mīrumey keṭuttu makāra morrum.

When *onpatū* and *nūrū* are respectively the standing and the coming words, t is inserted before *onpatū* as is mentioned before (i. e., in sūtra 445), n is replaced by ll, n of *nūrū* is dropped, ū is changed to ā and ira is inserted after ā and rū of *nūrū* is replaced by m. Ex. *onpatū* + *nūrū* = *tolḷ patū* + ā-iram = *tolḷā-y-iram*.

Note.—No mention is made of the elision 'patū' in 'onpatū.'

464. *Āyirak kiḷavi varūn kālai*

Mutalī reṇṇi nukaraṇ kēṭumē.

When *āyiram* is the coming word, the u of *orū* and *irū*, the modified forms of *onrū* and *iraṇṭū* is dropped. Ex. *orāyiram*, *irāyiram*.

465. *Mutanilai nūṭinu māna millai.*

There is no harm if the initial vowel (in both the above cases) is lengthened. Ex. *ōrāyiram*, *īrāyiram*.

466. *Mūṇra norrē vakāra māḱum.*

N of *mūnrū* is changed to v. Ex. *mūv-āyiram*.

467. *Nāṅka norrē lakāra māḱum.*

N of *nāṅkū* is changed to l. Ex. *nālāyiram*.

468. *Ainta norrē yakāra mākum.*

N of aintū is changed to y. Ex. ai-y-āyiram.

469. *Āraṇ maruṅkiṛ kurriya lukara*
Mirumey yoliyak keṭutal vēṇṭum.

Ū of ārū is dropped. Ex. ārāyiram.

470. *Onṭā nirutti yuruvunilai tiriyā*
Tiṇṭeral vēṇṭuṇ cāriyai maraṭē.

Onpatū without undergoing any change takes the flexional increment 'ṭiṇ' after it. Ex. onṭatiṇāyiram.

Note.—No mention is made in general that the standing words from onrū to onpatū undergo the same change when the coming word is āyiram as when the coming word is pattū or nūrū. Hence a sūtra similar to 460 is necessary before the sūtra 464.

471. *Nūrā yiramun varūṇ kālai*
Nūra niyarkai mutanilaik kiḷavi.

The changes which the standing words denoting from one to nine undergo in sandhi when the coming word is nūrāyiram are the same as those when it is nūrū. Ex. orunūrāyiram etc.

472. *Nūreṇ kiḷavi yonrumuta lonṭār*
Kiṛuciṇai yoliya viṇavorru mikumē.

When nūrū is the standing word and the coming words are from onrū to onpatū, the consonant r preceding ū is doubled. Ex. nūrū + onrū = nūr-r-onrū etc.

473. *Avaiyūr pattinu mattoliṛ rākum.*

The same is the case even when the standing words are orupa. : tū, irupa. : tū etc.

474. *Alavu niraṇṇu māyiyā ririyāṭu*
Kurriya lukaramum valḷeḷut tiyarkaiyu
Murkiḷan tanna venmaṇār pulavar.

Learned men say that, when nūrū is the standing word and words denoting measure and weight are coming words, the presence of ū and the doubling of r are the same as before. Ex. nūrū + kalam = nūr-rū-k-kalam etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 472.

475. *Onrumuta lākiya pattār kiḷavi*
Yonrumuta lonṭār korriṭai mikumē
Niṇra vāyṭaṇ keṭutal vēṇṭum.

When orupa :. tū, irupa :. tū etc. are standing words and the coming words are from onrū to onpatū, ∴ is dropped and t is doubled. Ex. orupattoṇrū etc.

476. *Āyiram varinē yinnen cāriyai*
Yavayi norritai mikuta lillai.

If āyiram is the coming word, t is not doubled, but the flexional increment 'in' is inserted. Ex. orupatināyiram etc.

477. *Alavu niraīyu māyīya ririyā.*

The same is the case when words denoting measure and weight are coming words. Ex. orupatinḱalam etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtra 476.

478. *Mutaṇilai yenṇinmun valleluttu varinu*
Ṇanamat tōṇrinum yavavan tiyaiyinu
Mutaṇilai yiyarkai yenmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that, if onrū is followed by a voice-less consonant, ñ, n, m, y or v, it is changed to orū as before. Ex. onrū + kal = orukal etc.

479. *Ataṇilai yuyirkkum yāvaru kālai*
Mutaṇilai yokara mōvā kummē
Rakarat tukaran tuvarak keṭumē.

If a vowel or yā is the initial of the coming word, the o of orū mentioned in the previous sūtra is lengthened to ō and u is dropped. Ex. orū + aṭai = ōraṭai; orū + yāl = ōr-yāl etc.

430. *Iraṇṭumuta lonṇpā nīruti munṇar*
Valaṅkiyan māven kilavi tōṇrin
Makara vaḷapoṭu nikaralu murittē.

If the words from iraṇṭū to onpatū are standing words and if the coming word is mā which denotes extent and which is generally in use, the change in sandhi is optionally the same as that when the coming word denotes measure and commences with 'ma'. Ex. iraṇṭū + mā = irumā; mummā, nānmā etc.

Note.—Cf. sūtras 446, 447, 448, 450 & 451.

431. *Laṇavena varūm pulḷi yirutimū*
Nummun keluvu muḷappaṭaṭ pīravu
Manṇa maraṇṇi moliyitai tōṇric
Ceyyut toṭarvayin meypēra nilaiyum
Vērrumai kuritta poruḷvayi nāna.

When the standing words end in l or n, words like um, kelu etc. are, as usage permits, inserted after them in poetry in case-relation sandhi. Ex. vāṇa-vari-villun-tiṅkaḷum. (Here

villun-tiṅkaḷum means also the moon near the rain-bow.); kal-keḷu-kāṇavar etc.

Note.—This sūtra and the succeeding two sūtras do not deal with the sandhi when the final of the standing word is *ū*, but form the closing portion of all the sections in sandhi.

482.—*Uyirum pulliyu miruti yāḱik*
Kuṛippinū paṇṇinu micaiyinnu tōṇri
Nerippaṭa vārāk kuraiccor kiḷaviyu
Muyartinaḱi ya.riṇai yāyiru maruṅki
Ṇaimpā laṛiyum paṇṇutoku moliyuṇ
Ceyyuṇ ceyta venṇuṇ kiḷaviyū
Meyyoruṇ kiyaḷuṇ toḷiṛoku moliyuṇ
Tammiyaḷ kiḷappiṛ rammur rāmvarū
Meṇṇiṇ rokuti yuḷappāṭaṭ piṛavu
Maṇṇavai yellā maruvin pāttiya
Puṇariya ṇilaiyitai yuṇarat tōṇrā.

The changes that take place in standing words when they are (1) the defective words denoting feeling, paṇṇu (genus, quality or action) and sound and ending in vowel or consonant (*i. e.*, uriccol), (2) the words denoting paṇṇu and pāl when they form the first member of paṇṇuttokai, (3) the participles ceyyum and ceyta when they form the first member of viṇaittokai, (4) words denoting number preceding the same words etc., have to be determined from usage and are not clearly mentioned here. Ex. *veḷḷa + viḷarttatū = veḷviḷarttatū*; *kariyatū + kutirai = karuṅ-kutirai*; *kollum + yāṇai = kol-yāṇai*, *koṇṇā + yāṇai = kol-yāṇai*; *pattū + pattū = pappattū*, *oṇṇū + oṇṇū = ōroṇṇū* etc.

483. *Kiḷanta valla ceyyulūṭ tirinavum*
Valaṅkiyaṇ maruṅkiṇ maruvoṭu tirinavum
Viḷampiya viyarkaiyū vērupaṭaṭ tōṇriṇ
Valaṅkiyaṇ maruṅki ṇuṇarntaṇa roḷukka
Ṇaṇmati nāṭṭaṭ teṇmaṇār pūḷavar.

Learned men say that, if changes in the forms of words not mentioned in the previous sections are found in literature and usage, they should be taken into account after they are critically examined by scholars.

(Kurṛiyalukara-p-puṇariyaḷ ends)

[Eḷuttatikāram ends.]

THE MADHYAMAKĀVATĀRA OF CANDRAKĪRTI 9

कारणहेतुबीजकार्यभिन्नाङ्कुरस्य ते न भवेत्¹

आकारवर्णरसवीर्यविपाकभेदः ।

तत्र आकारः दीर्घवृत्तादिः । वर्णः गौरादिः । रसो मधुरादिः । ²वीर्यं शक्तिविशेषः प्रभावभेदः । तद्यथा अशौषधिः कायसामीप्यमात्रेणाशौनिहन्ति । ³रसि ओषध्यादयो ⁴धरणमात्रेण च आकाशे गमयन्ति । विपाकः ⁵द्रव्यविशेषपरिणामप्राप्यः । तद्यथा पिप्पल्यादयो ⁶मधुरतया परिणमन्ति । यदि बीजाङ्कुरयो रन्यत्वम्, बीजस्य स्वात्मनीव अङ्कुरेऽप्याकारादिरभिन्न उपलभ्येत । न चोपलभ्यते । तस्माल्लशुना ⁷दिबीजेभ्यः कदल्याद्यङ्कुराणामिवानन्यता न युक्ता ॥

(84, 15) अथ बीजावस्थामुत्सृज्य अवस्थान्तरप्राप्त्या बीज एवाङ्कुरो भवति । इति चेत् । एवमपि

1. This line does not admit of being put into metre.

2. Dalhaṇācārya in his commentary on Suśruta explains vīrya : द्रव्यरसगुणविपाकैर्यत्कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते तत्कर्म कुर्वन् प्रभावो वीर्यमुच्यते । तथा हि वीर्यं शक्तिः उत्पत्तिविशेषः सामर्थ्यं प्रभावः इत्यनर्थान्तरम् । सुश्रुत, सूत्रस्थान 40, 2. (Nirṇaya Sagar ed. p, 115).

3. P. Tib. rtsi = non identifiē (L.V.P.). Glossary of the Das. abhumikasutra p. 47: rtsi = ओषधि ; yao tsao (=medicinal plant). म० वृ० p.442, n.5, rtsi-smān=मैषज्य. May rasāyana or rasa he meant here ; cf. the line : बद्धः खेचरतां कुर्याद्रसो वायुश्च भैरविः cited from Bṛhadvāsistha in Rasendro cinte maṇi. I.

4. Tib. bcañs-pa = धरण ?

5. Dalhaṇācārya in the same place explains vipāka: यत् द्रव्यं परिणामकाले स्वाभाविकं रसं परित्यज्य रसान्तरं भजते तत्र विपाक इति संज्ञा. Vāgbhaṭa's explanation: जाठरेणाग्निना योगाद्यदुदेति रसान्तरम् । रसानां परिणामान्ते स विपाक इति स्मृतः ॥ अष्टाङ्गहृदय, सूत्रस्थान 9. 20.

6. Compare सुश्रुत, सूत्रस्थान 46, 223 : तेषां गुर्वी स्वादुशीता पिप्पल्याद्रा कफावहा । and चरक, विमानस्थान 1. 19 : पिप्पल्यो हि कटुकाः सत्यो मधुरविपाका गुर्व्यो नात्यर्थं स्निग्धोष्णाः प्रक्लेदिन्यः । Sentences cited by Prof. Poussin in his foot-note for comparison from Suśruta XI. have nothing to do with मृदुपरिणाम, but speak of मृदुगुण. and शीतवीर्यः

7. Tib. sgog-skyā = लशुन ?

Madhya—B

पूर्वस्वभावमपसृत्य किलान्यरूप-

स्तस्माद्भवेद्यदि तदा कथमस्य तत्त्वम् ॥ १० ॥

तस्य भावस्तत्त्वम् । तदनन्यतेत्यर्थः । तर्कादस्मात् अङ्कुरस्यानन्यत्वा-
संभवेन एतस्य (बीजस्य) अनन्यता परिहृता ॥

(85, 1) अथ बीजाङ्कुरयोरकारादिभेदेऽपि द्वव्याभेद इति । नैवम् । आकारा-
दावगृहीते तयोर्द्वव्याग्रहात् ॥ अपि च ।

बीजाङ्कुराविह पुनस्तव चेदनन्यौ
गृह्येत नैव च स बीजवदङ्कुरेति ।

ऐक्यात्तयोरथ यथाङ्कुर एष सोऽपि
गृह्येत वा तत इदं ननु नाभ्युपेयम् ॥ ११ ॥

यथाङ्कुरावस्थायां बीजस्यात्मा स्वरूपेण न गृह्यते तथा बीजादनन्यत्वात्
बीजस्वात्मवत् अङ्कुरस्वात्मापि न गृह्येत । अथ वा यथाङ्कुरो गृह्यते तथाङ्कुर-
स्वात्मवत् बीजोऽपि गृह्येत । अङ्कुरादेरनन्यत्वात् । दोषप्रसङ्गपारिजिहीर्षुणा बीजाङ्क-
रयोरनन्यत्वं नाभ्युपेयम् ॥

(85, 17) तस्मादेवं तत्त्वविविदिषोर्मतरीत्या¹ परीक्षितं स्वत उत्पादं प्रतिक्षिप्य
मतान्तरेणाविशोधितबुद्धिलोकव्यवहारेणापि इयं कल्पना नोपपद्यत इति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

लोकोऽपि चैक्यमनयोरिति नाभ्युपैति
नष्टोऽपि पश्यति यतः फलमेष हेतौ ।

यतो बीजाख्ये हेतौ निरुद्धेऽपि अङ्कुराख्यं फलं पश्यति । ततः
लोकोऽपि बीजाङ्कुरयोरनन्यतां न पश्यति । ऐक्ये हेतुवत् फलमपि न दृश्येत ।
नष्टोऽपि (हेतुः) दृश्येत । अतस्तयोर्नानन्यता ॥

(86, 7) यतः पक्षद्वयदृष्ट्यापि स्वत उत्पादो युक्तिविरुद्धः ।

तस्मान्न तत्त्वत इदं ननु लोकतश्च

युक्तं स्वतो भवति भाव इति प्रकल्प्यम्² ॥ १२ ॥

1. P. 85, 18, The reading bshin-du instead of gshan-du is sug-
gested by Poussin.

2. This verse is cited in सुभाषितसंग्रह fol. 18. (L.V.P.).

तदर्थमेवाचार्येणाकृतविशेषणं 'न स्वत' इति सामान्यत उत्पादः प्रतिषिद्धः ।
यस्तु¹ "न परमार्थतो भावाः स्वत उत्पन्नाः । विद्यमानत्वात् चैतन्यवत्" इति
विशेषणं करोति । तस्य परमार्थत इति विशेषणं निरर्थकमिति ध्येयम् ॥

अपि च

इष्टे स्वतश्च भवने, जनकश्च जन्यं
कर्ता च कर्म ननु यान्त्यपि चैक्यमेषाम् ।
नैक्यात्स्वतश्च भवनं खलु नाभ्युपेयं
दोषस्य नाम कथितस्य बहोः प्रसङ्गात् ॥ १३ ॥

यथोक्तम्

हेतोः फलस्य चैकत्वं न हि जातूपपद्यते ।
एकत्वे फलहेत्वोः स्यादैक्यं जनकजन्ययोः² ॥ इति ॥

न होक्त्वमस्ति । पितापुत्रयोश्चक्षुर्विज्ञानयोश्चैक्यप्रसङ्गात्³ । अत एवोक्तम् ।

यदिन्धनं स चेदग्निरेकत्वं कर्तृकर्मणोः⁴ इति ।

अत एतादृशादिदोषप्रसङ्गभयादविपरीतसत्यद्वयबुभुत्सुना भावा न स्वत उत्पन्ना
अभ्युपगन्तव्याः ॥

(87, 15) स्यादेष नियमोऽत्र न स्वत उत्पद्यन्ते भावा इति । युक्त एव चायं पक्षः ।
यत्तु खल्विदमुक्तं कुतः परस्मादिति । तन्न युक्तम् । यस्मात् परभूतप्रत्ययाश्चत्वारो
हेतुरालम्बनमनन्तरं तथाधिपतिरिति प्रत्यया भावानामुत्पादका इति प्रवचनमपेक्ष्य
परत उत्पादोऽकामयमानेनाप्यङ्गीकार्यः ॥

1. See म० वृ० p. 17 note a, and, p. 25, 9. (L. V.P.)

2. म० शास्त्र. XX. 19. a, b & 20, a, b.

3. म० वृ० p. 404, 4.

4. म० शास्त्र X. 1. a, b. According to Tib. reading: यदीन्धनं भवेदग्निः
etc. which is incorrect (L.V.P.)

तत्र केचिदाहुः । कारणहेतुवर्जं पञ्च हेतवो हेतुप्रत्ययाः¹ । तत्रालम्ब्यत इत्यालम्बनं । विज्ञानषट्कस्य यथायोगमालम्बनं आलम्बनप्रत्ययः सर्वो धर्मः । निरुपधिशेषनिर्वाणावतीर्णचित्तादन्ये चित्तचैत्ता अनन्तरप्रत्ययाः । कारणहेतुरेवाधिपतिप्रत्यय इति ॥

(88, 10) अन्ये त्वाहुः । निर्वर्तको हेतुरिति लक्षणात् यो हि यस्य जनकः बीजभावेनावस्थितः स तस्य हेतुप्रत्ययः । वृद्धपुरुषोत्थानवत् चित्तचैत्तानि हेतुत उत्पद्यमानान्यवलम्बनदण्डतुल्येन येनालम्बनेनोत्पद्यन्ते स आलम्बनप्रत्ययः । जायमानस्य धर्मस्याश्रय इत्यर्थः । अनन्तरः कारणनिरोधः कार्योत्पत्तिप्रत्ययः । तद्यथा अनन्तरो बीजनरोधः अङ्कुरस्य समनन्तरप्रत्ययः । यस्मिन् सति यद्ववति स तस्याधिपतिप्रत्यय इति । ये चान्ये सहजातपश्चाज्जातादयः त एतेष्वेवान्तर्भूताः । ईश्वरादयस्तु प्रत्यया एव नेत्यत एवावधारयति । 'प्रत्ययो नास्ति पञ्चमः'³ इति । इति च वदन्ति⁴ ॥

(89, 3) एतद्वयवस्थापयितुमशक्यम् । युक्त्यागमविरोधात् । तत्र युक्तिमधिकृत्याह ।

अन्यत्प्रतीत्य यदि नाम परोऽभविष्यत्

जायेत तर्हि बहुलः शिखिनोऽन्धकारः⁵ ।

1. In the लङ्कावतारसूत्र p. 83 (Kyoto 1923) we find the following :—
हेतुः...षड्विधो यदुत भविष्यद्धेतुः संवन्धहेतुः लक्षण० कारण० व्यञ्जन० and उपेक्षा० । भविष्यद्धेतुः...हेतुकृत्यं करोति आध्यात्मब्राह्मोत्पत्तौ धर्माणाम् । संवन्ध०... आलम्बनकृत्यं करोत्याध्यात्मिकब्राह्मोत्पत्तौ स्कन्धबीजादीनाम् । लक्षण०...अनन्तरक्रियालक्षणोपरिवृद्धं जनयति । कारण०...आधिपत्याधिकारकृत्यं करोति चक्रवर्तिनृपवत् । व्यञ्जन०...उत्पन्नस्य विकल्पस्य भावस्य लक्षणोद्योतनं कृत्यं करोति प्रदीपवद्रूपादीनाम् । उपेक्षा०...विनिवृत्तिकाले प्रवन्धक्रियाव्युच्छिन्ति करोत्यविकल्पोत्पत्तौ ॥ Dr. Poussin says : D'après les Vaibhāṣikas—Sarvāstivādins, Kāraṇahetu, Sahabhū°, Sābhāga°, Samprayuktaka°, Sarvatraga°, vipāka hatu (Mahāvīyutpatti, §. 114). Je croirais volontiers que notre auteur vise cette scolastique.

2. निर्वाणं of two kinds :—सोपधिशेषनिर्वाणं and निरुपधिशेष०. See म० वृ० pp. 519—520.

3. म० शास्त्र I. 2 d.

4. See म० वृ० p. 77. 1.

5. This कारिका is cited in सुभाषितसंग्रह fol. 19. and म० वृ० p. 36. 10. (L.V.P.)

अन्यत्वात् । न हि तद्दृष्टं न वा युक्तम् । तस्मादेतन्न भवति । अत एवोक्तम् ।

हेतोः फलस्य चान्यत्वं न हि जातूपपद्यते ।

पृथक्त्वे फलहेत्वोः स्यात्तुल्यो हेतुरहेतुना¹ ॥ इति ॥

किं च ।

सर्वस्य जन्म च भवेत्खलु सर्वतश्च

हेतुभूतादेहेतुभूताच्च सर्वतः फलभूतोऽफलभूतश्च भावो जायेत । कस्मात्

तुल्यं परत्वमखिलेऽजनकेऽपि यस्मात् ॥ १४ ॥

यथा जनकस्य शालिव्रीजस्य स्वकार्यात् शाल्यङ्कुरादन्यत्वम्, तथा अजन-
कस्याग्न्यङ्गारयवबीजादेरपि । यथा चान्यभूताच्छालिव्रीजाच्छाल्यङ्कुर उत्पद्यते ।
तथाग्न्यङ्गारयवबीजादिभ्योऽपि स्यात् । यथापुनरन्यभूतः शाल्यङ्कुरः शालि-
व्रीजाद्भवति, तथा घटकम्बलादयोऽपि भवन्तु । न चैतद्दृष्टम् । तस्मादयमपि² न
संभवति ॥

(90, 10) अत्रोच्यते । सत्यपि हेतुफलयोरन्यत्वे न सर्वस्य सर्वतः संभवप्रसङ्गः ।
नियमस्य दृष्टत्वात् । अस्ति ह्यत्र नियमः । यस्मात्

शक्यं प्रकर्तुमिति कार्यमतो निरुक्तं

शक्तं यदस्य जनने स परोऽपि हेतुः ।

जनैकसन्तति गताञ्जनकाच्च तस्मा-

च्छाल्यङ्कुरस्य न तथा [जननं यवादेः]³ ॥ १५ ॥

इह कार्यं शक्यार्थकृत्यप्रत्यययुक्तम्⁴ । यत् येन कर्तुं शक्यं तदेव तस्य
कार्यम् । यदिदं कार्यं जनयितुं शक्तं स परोऽपि हेतुः । तस्मात्परत्वविशेषेणैव

1. म० शास्त्र XX. 19 6, 20 b. (L.V.P.)

2. परत उत्पादः.

3. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 20. (L.V.P.)

4. See पाणिनीयसूत्र, III. 3. 172. शक्ति लिङ् च. and III. 1. 124.
रूढलोपयत्.

कार्यकारणभावः । न परत्वसामान्येन । एकसन्ततिगताच्च तस्मात् जन्म भवति । न भिन्नसन्ततिगताद्यवयवबीजादेः एकसन्ततिगतादप्यजनकाद्वा उत्तरक्षणात्पूर्वक्षणस्य इति [न]¹ सर्वतः सर्वस्य संभवप्रसङ्गः । इदमयुक्तम् । तथा हि । इदमेव तावदस्मै कार्यकारणवादिने प्रष्टव्यं । शाल्यङ्कुरस्य हेतुः शालिबीज एव नान्यः शालिबीजस्य च कार्यं शाल्यङ्कुर एव नान्य इत्याकारो यो नियमः स एव कस्मादिति । आह । नियमस्य दर्शनादिति । कस्मादेवं नियमो दृश्यत इति पुनः पर्यनुयोगे यस्मान्नियमो दृश्यते तस्मान्नियमो दृश्यत इति तन्मात्रं वदतानेन नियमहेतुमनभिधाय उक्तदोषः कथञ्चिदपि नापाकर्तुं शक्यते ॥

(91, 16) अपि च । परत्वसामान्यमपरिच्छिन्नविशेषमतिप्रसिद्धम् । इदमेवास्य यथेष्टं बाधकं भवतीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

नेष्टो यथैव यवकेसरकिंशुकादिः

शाल्यङ्कुरस्यजनको न च शक्तियुक्तः ।

नैवैकसन्ततिगतः सदृशो न शाले-

बीजो न तादृगपि नाम तथा परत्वात्² ॥ १६ ॥

यथा यवकेसरकिंशुकादयः परत्वात् शाल्यङ्कुरजनका नेष्टाः । न च शाल्यङ्कुरजननशक्तियुक्ता । नाप्येकसन्ततिगताः । तथा शालिबीजोऽपि न यथोक्तद्विशेषणविशिष्टोऽस्ति । परत्वात् ॥

(92, 8) एवं तावदन्यत्र प्रसिद्धपरत्वं³ सिद्धवदनूद्य दूषणं कृतम् । इदानीं कार्यकारणयोः परत्वासंभवमाह ।

अस्यङ्कुरश्च न [हि बीज] समानकालः

बीजं कुतः परतयास्तु विना परत्वम् ।

1. This sense is obtained by inserting the particle 'mi' (=न) in the line: thal-bar-mi-hgyur-ro. p. 91. 6 as Dr. Pousin suggests.

2. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह gives the last word of this kārīkā: परत्वात् (L.V.P.)

3. Tib. grub—grub—ltar ?

जन्माङ्कुरस्य न हि सिध्यति तेन बीजात्
संत्यज्यतां परत उद्भवतीति पक्षः¹ ॥ १७ ॥

इह विद्यमानयोरेव² हि मैत्रोपग्राहकयोः परस्परापेक्षं परत्वं दृष्टम् । न चैवं बीजाङ्कुरयोर्गोपचमुपलभ्यते । अविकृते बीजेऽङ्कुरस्यासत्त्वात् । यदा एवं बीज-^० समानकालो नास्यङ्कुरः । ततो नास्ति बीजस्याङ्कुरात्परत्वम् । परत्वाभावे अङ्कुरः परत उत्पद्यत इत्येतन्न संभवति । तस्मात् परत उद्भवतीत्ययं पक्षः संत्यज्यताम् । अयमेवार्थ उक्तः ।

(93, 4) न हि स्वभावो भावानां प्रत्ययादिषु विद्यते ।

अविद्यमाने स्वभावे परभावः कुतो भवेत्³ ॥ इति ।

अत्र प्रत्ययादीति हेतुः प्रत्यया वा हेतुप्रत्ययसामग्री वा ततोऽन्यदपि वा युक्तम् । 'स्वभावेऽविकृते कार्याणां स्वभावो नैव भवति । अजातत्वात् । तदभावे नास्तिपरत्वं प्रत्ययादिषु । 'यस्य⁵ च भावेन भावलक्षणं' इतीयं सप्तमी । यदा आश्रयोऽस्ति तदा कार्याणां प्रत्ययादिषु कांसद्रोणवदरवन्नास्ति स्वभाव इत्यर्थः । यद्यत्र नास्ति । तत्ततो नोत्पद्यते । यथा सिकताभ्यस्तैलम् । यथोक्तम्

अथासदपि तत्तेभ्यः प्रत्ययेभ्यः प्रवर्तते ।

अप्रत्ययेभ्योऽपि कस्मान्नाभिप्रवर्तते फलम्⁶ ॥ इति ।

तस्मादयमाश्रयपक्ष आचार्येणैव गाथाविशोधित एवेति न सुतरां विभङ्गे-
नोपन्यस्तः ॥

(14, 6) अत्राह । यदुक्तं⁷ अस्यङ्कुरश्च न हि बीजसमानकाल इति । तन्नयु-

1. सुभाषितसंग्रह fol. 20. (L.V.P.).

2. Compare म० वृ० p. 78, 11. (L.V.P.).

3. म० शास्त्र I. 3 (L.V.P.). The fourth pāda of the verse in the शास्त्र reads :—परभावो न विद्यते.

4. प्रत्ययादीनां इत्यादिः ।

5. पाणिनीयसूत्र, II. 3. 31. यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्यात् । गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः । See सिद्धान्तकौमुदी—under the sūtra.

6. म० शास्त्र I. 12 (L.V.P.).

7. See the verse 17 above.

ज्यते । यथा ¹तुलादण्डनामोन्नामावेककालावेव । बीजे निरुध्यमाने अङ्कुर उत्पद्यते [एवम्] । तथा हि यदैव बीजो निरुध्यते तदा यौगपद्येनैव अङ्कुर उत्पद्यते । अतो बीजनिरोधाङ्कुरोत्पादयोरेककालत्वाद्धीजाङ्कुरावपि समानकालौ स्तः । तस्मात् परत्वमस्तीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

दण्डद्वयस्य नमनोन्नमनौ तुलाया

दृष्टौ यथा न भवतो ह्यसमानकालौ ।

जन्यस्य जन्म जनकस्य तथा निरोधः

इत्यतो नास्ति दोषः इति चेत् । तथापि

यद्येकदास्त्यसदिदं त्विह नैककाल्यम्² ॥ १८ ॥

तुलादण्डान्तेन जन्यजनकयोरुत्पादविनाशावेककालौ कल्प्येते चेत्, न तद्युक्तम् । कस्मात् । यद्यपि तुलादण्डान्ते नामोन्नामावेककालावेव । तथापि दार्ष्टान्तिकेऽर्थभावे³ एककालत्वाभावादेतदयुक्तम् ॥

(95, 3) यथा न भवति तथा प्रदर्शयन्नाह ।

जन्मोन्मुखं न सदिदं यदि जायमानं

नाशोन्मुखं सदपि नाम निरुध्यमानम् ।

इष्टं तदा कथमिदं तुलया समानं

तत्र जायमानं जन्माभिमुखमनागतम् । निरुध्यमानं निरोधाभिमुखं वर्तमानम् । तस्मादसदेवाजातत्वाज्जायते । सदेव वर्तमानत्वान्निरुध्यते । यदैवमिदं । तदा कथं तुलया समानं भवेत् । तुलादण्डद्वयस्य वर्तमानत्वादुन्नामावनामक्रियैककालिकैवास्ति । वर्तमानानागतयोर्बीजाङ्कुरयोस्तु न यौगपद्यमिति नैतत्तुलया समानम् । (95, 16) यद्यपि धर्मयोर्यौगपद्यं नास्ति । तथापि तत्क्रिययोर्यौगपद्यमस्तीति चेत्, तदपि न युक्तम् । धर्माद्वेदेन तत्क्रियाया अनभ्युपगमात् । किं च ।

कर्त्रा विनीं जनिरियं न च युक्तरूपा⁴ ॥ १९ ॥

1. म० वृ० pp. 544, 5 and 545, 1.

2. इह तु नैककाल्यम् । अत इदमसदिति वाक्ययोजना ।

3. Tib. don-dio po.

4. This verse is cited in म० वृ० p. 545, 9. (L.V.P.)

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PRĀBHĀKARAS : OLD AND NEW

BY

M. HIRIYANNA, M. A., L. T.,

Mysore.

In the history of Indian thought, the best has not only superseded but has also often suppressed the rest. In literature for instance Kālidāsa was preceded by more than one dramatist of renown; but his *Śākuntalam* eclipsed completely all the older plays, and it was not till recently that some of them were discovered through mere chance. In Vedānta again the great *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara on the *Brahma-sūtra* threw all previous commentaries upon it into the shade and none of them has to this day been recovered. This lamentable feature can be traced in the history of Mīmāṃsā also. Kumārila's masterly exposition of the doctrine in one of its forms has led to the neglect of practically all the others. Even so important a version of it as that of Prabhākara was little more than a name until Pandit Gaṅgānāth Jhā wrote his dissertation on it some years ago. Since then some additions have been made to our knowledge of the school, and a few works also have been published. But it is all yet too little. What is proposed here is not to shed any new light upon the doctrine but only to draw attention to a point of history *viz.*, the existence of a distinction between an 'old' and a 'new' school among the Prābhākaras themselves, as may be gathered from the references to *jarat-prābhākaras* and *cirantanākhyāti-vādins* which are occasionally met with in old Indian philosophical works.¹ The two schools seem to have differed from each other in some essential respects. But the information that can be got from casual references to them is naturally tantalizingly meagre; yet it is worth while bringing together in one place whatever is thus ascertainable.

1. For one such instance, see Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstriar's Paper 'Further Light on the Prābhākara Problem' in the 'Report of the Third Oriental Conference' p. 479.

The information may be presented under the two following heads.

1. REALITY.

The Prābhākara school recognise eight categories; and, as commonly enumerated,¹ they are *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karma*, *sāmānya*, *samavāya*, *śakti*, *saṃkhyā* and *sādrśya*. According to the *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha* of Vidyāraṇya,² this enumeration is only according to the later (*ādhunika*) school, and the older (*cirantana*) one, while agreeing with it in regard to the first six categories,³ had *viśeṣa* and *niyoga* in place of the remaining two. It is the former list that is now usually associated with the Prābhākara school and references to the latter are very rare showing that the older doctrine has for long been ignored. Now this reference to the Prābhākara categories occurs in the *Pañca-pādikā-vivaraṇa* itself⁴ of which Vidyāraṇya's work is a digest. But its author Prakāśātman contents himself with mentioning the older list. Vidyāraṇya amplifies the reference by giving the list according to the new school also. This may suggest that the divergence between the two schools, at least in this respect, emerged between the periods when these two works were written. But it would be wrong to think so, for we find that Śālikanātha, who on all accounts is prior to Prakāśātman, already adopts the classification ascribed to the new school.⁵ While treating of *upamāna* as a *pramāṇa* in the *Prakaraṇa-pāñcikā*, he alludes to this point and postulates that *sādrśya*, like *saṃkhyā*, is an *atiṛikta-padārtha* or an independent category.

1. See e.g., *Tantra-rahasya* (Gaekwād Or : Series) p. 20 and Keith: 'Karma—Mīmāṃsā', p. 52.

2. Page 201.

3. In this list, *samavāya* appears as *pūratantrya*. For the identity of the two terms, see e. g. *Tatva-dīpana*, p. 628.

4. Page 209.

5. This is corroborated by the only fragment from Śālikanātha's *Prameya-pārūyaṇa* preserved in Mallinātha's com: on the *Tārṅika-rakṣā* (p. 164)—

द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यशक्तिसंख्यासादृश्यसमवाया अष्टौ पदार्थाः ॥

It may be noted in this connection that in the printed edition of the *Prakaraṇa-pāñcikā* (p. 54) *saṃkhyā* is reckoned as a *guṇa*. This must be a mistake as it contradicts what is stated on page 57 of the work and also in the extract just given. See also the list of *guṇas* in the *Tantra-rahasya*, p. 21.

Consequently Prakāśātman's omission to refer to the later school must be due to some other cause and cannot be taken to indicate that it was not in existence in his time. This by the way shows that we have to understand by the expression 'later Prābhākaras' the school of thought as represented by Śālikanātha;¹ and that the term *jarat-prābhākara* or its equivalents refer to a still older phase in the evolution of Mīmāṃsā philosophy. This topic of the categories should have been discussed at length and with reference to the older school in Śālikanātha's *Prameya-pārāyaṇa* which in all probability was a section of the *Prakarana-pañcikā*,² but unfortunately it is no longer available.³

We need not enter here into the philosophical reasons which induced the later school to modify the older list by dropping *viśeṣa* and *niyoga* and introducing *saṃkhyā* and *sādrśya*. But we may in passing refer to the similar change made in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system in respect of them, excepting only *niyoga* which stands for a conception peculiar to the Prābhākara school. To take *viśeṣa* first. The doctrine of *viśeṣa* has really little to support it. It is a pure dogma to the formulation of which the system was driven as a consequence of two of its fundamental postulates, *viz.* that diversity lies at the bottom of the universe and that ultimate things are simple. Under the influence of these postulates, the system carries analysis to an extreme and arrives at atomic and infinite entities as constituting the bases of the universe. Some of these ultimate entities like *ākāśa* are single; but others are multiple. Where they are multiple, it is not possible to distinguish those of each class because they are

1. Compare the statement of Prof. S. Kuppaswāmi Śāstriar on p. 479 of the 'Report of the Third Oriental Conference.' The terms 'new' & 'old' might have signified different stages in the growth of Mīmāṃsā at different times. We are using them here for the doctrine as held respectively by Śālikanātha and his predecessors.

2. See *Prakarana-pañcikā*, p. 81 and compare Keith : 'Karma-Mīmāṃsā', p. 16.

3. There is possibly one other fragment from the *Prameya-pārāyaṇa* preserved in the *Nyāya-makaranda*, of Ānanda-bodha (Chowkhamba Series) :—

सामान्यविशेषौ द्वे वस्तुनी प्रतिपद्यमानं प्रत्यक्षमुपपद्यते । किं तु वस्त्वन्त-
रानुसंधानशून्यतया सामान्यविशेषरूपता न प्रतीयते । निर्विकल्पकेन
सामान्यविशेषौ द्वे वस्तुनी प्रतिपद्यमानेनापि तयोर्भेदो न प्रत्येतुं शक्यते ॥

(p. 177).

But it must be added that this is found in exactly the same form in the *Prakarana-pañcikā* as at present printed. See pp. 54-5.

all alike, e.g., *ātmans* or *pr̥thivī* atoms. It is to meet this difficulty that the doctrine of *viśeṣa* has been enunciated. It arbitrarily invests each such ultimate entity with an individuality not possessed by any other of its class. But this easy expedient has long been known to furnish no true solution of the difficulty in question. Opponents of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika have not failed to point out this deficiency and some among the later followers of the system have accordingly dispensed with it.¹ The same has happened in the case of recognizing *sādrśya*² and *saṁkhyā*³ as independent categories, some of the *navya-naiyāyikas* agreeing to give them a place co-ordinate with the others in the scheme of categories. Now this is what the later Prābhākaras also have done. So we may say that in rejecting *viśeṣa* and adopting *sādrśya* and *saṁkhyā*, the later history of the two systems agree. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika changes do not seem to be older than Raghunātha. But we know that Śālikanātha had already made the modifications. Hence the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika changes—so far as they have been adopted at all—may be ascribed to the influence of Mīmāṃsā. This is rather a curious fact since the Prābhākaras are known to have modelled their scheme of categories on that of the Vaiśeṣika to which it is so much allied.⁴

2. KNOWLEDGE.

(i) *Consciousness and self-consciousness* :—Knowledge, it is commonly granted, implies a subject (*pramātṛ*) to which it belongs and an object (*prameya*) to which it points. According to Śālikanātha, whose name we may substitute for that of the later Prābhākaras, all these three are known simultaneously.⁵ Of them the object being *jaḍa* is known through *jñāna* or *saṁvit*, as it is termed here. Knowledge on the other hand is self-revealing (*sva-prakāśa*), so that whenever it is, it is manifest. To say that it is not manifest is to say that it is *not*. 'How can knowledge', says Śālikanātha, 'reveal its object without revealing itself?'⁶ But the term *sva-prakāśa* is understood in two ways in

1. See *Dinakar*, p. 60 (Nirnaya-sagara Edn. 1916).

2. *Ibid* p. 83.

3. See Keith : 'Indian Logic and Atomism' p. 180, n.

4. Compare for instance Vedānta-deśika's *Tattvamuktā-kalāpa* ch : v. 44.

5. See *Prakarana-pañcikā*, pp. 56-7 and 141.

6. *Ibid* p. 57.

Indian philosophy. According to the Yogācāra school of Buddhists, for instance, who also regard knowledge (*viññāna*) as self-revealing, it is knowable (*vedya*); only it is knowable by itself and not by another *jñāna* (*anuvyavasāya*) as in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. This view according to others like the Advaitins is wrong, for it involves the absurdity of one and the same thing being simultaneously the knower as well as the known. Hence *sva-prakāśa*, they understand negatively as 'not requiring to be revealed'.¹ According to Śālikanātha, *saṁvit* seems to be self-revealing in the latter sense.² Now as regards the subject or the self,³ he places it practically on the same footing as the object (*aprakāśa-svabhāva*). It is *jaḍa* and knowable. If the self were not known at the same time as the object, there would be no difference between the experiences of different persons. It is the revelation of one's own self simultaneously with the object and its knowledge that explains the unity of personal experience. This conclusion is also supported by the form in which experience arises: e.g. "I see a jar"⁴. That the self is *jaḍa* like external objects is deduced from the nature of *susupti* when the self, being eternal, endures but is not known. If it were *sva-prakāśa* like knowledge, it would reveal itself then also. It is known only when *saṁvit* is present revealing some object or other. That is, both the subject and the object need to be known by *saṁvit*, being unable to manifest themselves. But the self appears then not objectively (*karmatayā*) or as *Me*, but as the knower (*kartṛtayā*)⁵ or as *I*-a distinction which in the view of the school is sufficient to ward off the objection, which may be brought against *saṁvit*, as against *Viññāna* in the Yogācāra view, that what knows cannot be identical with the known.⁶

1. The example usually given to illustrate this usage is *svayam dāsastapasvinaḥ* which means that the persons so described have no servants at all, not that they are their own servants which in its literal sense is quite incomprehensible. Cf. Citsukha's com: on *Nyāya-makaranda*, p. 143.

2. See *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, p. 63.

3. See *Ibid* pp. 151-3.

4. *Ibid* p. 56.

5. *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* p. 153.

6. *Ibid* p. 153. The position of the later school in these respects is very briefly and clearly put in the following extract from Citsukha's commentary on the *Nyāya-makaranda* (p. 134)—

The older school of Prābhākara, as we know from references to it in *Brahmānandā's* works,¹ differed considerably in this respect. For according to them the object alone, as in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, is known when *saṃvit* appears. Now the question arises as to how in that case the self and *saṃvit* come to be known. The reference in these works being very brief and there being no other source of information, it is difficult to say what precisely was the view held by them in this respect. It is clear, however, that the older Prābhākara did not, like the later, advocate the simultaneous revelation of what is known as the *tri-puti*—the knower, knowledge and the known. The actual wording of the references in the works in question is as follows :—

प्राचीनप्राभाकरमते तु प्रमाया विषयत्वं न प्रमितिप्रमात्रोः स्वीक्रियते ।
प्रमायास्तादात्म्यसमवायाभ्यामेव तयोर्व्यवहारसंभवात् ॥

(*Ratnāvalī*).

ननु ज्ञानविषयत्वरूपा सत्ता प्राचीनप्राभाकराणां मते न सर्वेन्द्रियग्राह्या,
ज्ञानस्य स्वविषयत्वाभावेऽपि तादात्म्येन स्वस्यैव स्वस्मिन् स्वव्यवहारप्रयोजक-
त्वम् ; अत एव ज्ञातापि न ज्ञानविषयः, ज्ञानसमवायस्यैव तद्व्यवहारप्रयोज-
कत्वादिति हि तैः स्वीक्रियते ॥

(*Laghu-candrikā*).

A possible answer to the question raised above, as suggested by these passages, is that neither the self nor knowledge is *explicitly* known. But both are implicit whenever anything is known, being related thereto by a *necessary* relation (*tādātmya* or *samavāya*); and that is enough to account for all *vyavahāra* about them. Such emphasis on *vyavahāra* rather than on *jñāna* is quite in harmony with the essentially pragmatic outlook of the Prābhākara, as illustrated for example by the view they take of the import of words and of propositions.

(ii) *Error*.—It is well known that the Prābhākara theory of error (*akhyāti*) does not recognise *bhrama* as unitary knowledge (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*). It maintains that all experience as such is

नीलादिसंविद्धिः स्वश्रयमात्मानमनिदंतया प्रकाशयति, विषयं चेदंतया प्रकाश-
यति, स्वयं च स्वप्रकाशत ॥ स्फुरति ॥

1. *Ratnāvalī* on Madhusūdana-sarasvatī's *Siddhānta-bindu*, p. 18 (Kumbhakonam Edn.) and *Laghu-candrikā* on the same author's *Advaita-siddhi* (p. 319). (Nirnaya-sagara Edn.)

valid. The so-called error also is valid so far as it goes; only it does not go sufficiently far. To take the usual instance of mistaking shell for silver: The shell is actually given, but its apprehension is partial because its essential character (*śuktilva*) is missed; the silver is only recollected, not given; but the fact that it is recollection is lost sight of. So we have here really two *jñānas*—perception and memory—neither of which, however, is complete. It is this compound of two *jñānas* that, according to the Prābhākaras, passes commonly for error. Similarly in the case of the 'red-crystal', we have two *jñānas*—that of the crystal *minus* its true colour and that of redness alone of the flower—both being perceptual here. But the fact that they are two is overlooked so that, as in the previous case, there is no *bhrama* in the sense of a single unit of knowledge. There being thus no error at all in the logical sense of the term, the school explains the familiar distinction between *pramā* and *bhrama* from the practical standpoint. That is *bhrama* which leads us astray; not that which is invalid for, according to the hypothesis, there is no *jñāna* which is not valid. Accordingly when the error comes to be discovered, the validity of knowledge is not questioned but only the activity it had prompted is arrested. This is briefly the view of error according to Śālikanātha.¹ Its excellence is in the whole-hearted support it gives to the self-validity of knowledge; but its explanation of error is far from satisfactory.

The older Prābhākaras also seem to have upheld *akhyāti*, for their view is designated as *cirantanākhyāti-mata*. But there is an important difference between the two. In the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*², a yet unpublished work on Advaita by Vimuktātman³, all the well-known rival theories of error are summarised and refuted as a preliminary to establishing the *anirvacanīya-khyāti*. The *akhyāti* view also is considered in this connection; and it is stated in two ways. One of them represents the view of the later school as we have briefly set it forth above. The other is alluded to in the following words :—

1. See *Prakaraṇa-pāñcikā*, pp. 32-8.

2. Mss. of this work and of Jñānottama's *śom*: on it are found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. I am able to quote from them here, owing to the kindness of the Library authorities.

3. Vimuktātman is prior to Yāmunācārya, the *parama-guru* of Rāmānuja, whose *Siddhi-traya* contains a quotation from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*.

अथोच्येत....तृतीयं वा सामानाधिकरण्यज्ञानं मानसमस्ति, अतो वा प्रवृत्तिरिति । तर्हि अयथार्थज्ञानाभ्युपगमात्त्वयोक्ता दोषास्तवैव प्रसज्यन्ते । तृतीयं च ज्ञानमयथार्थमिच्छन् किमिति नाद्यं (द्ये ?) तथेच्छसि । अक्षजस्य यथार्थत्वार्थम्, मानसस्यायथार्थत्वेऽप्यविरोधात्—यद्यक्षजादीनां यथार्थत्वनियमो न स्यात्तदा लोकव्यवहारे दृष्टार्थं संभवत्यपि वेदे यथार्थत्वनिश्चयाभावाददृष्टार्थं प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात् ; अतोऽक्षजादीनां यस्य या असाधारणा सामग्री तस्या यथार्थ-ज्ञानजनकत्वमेव ; अतो वेदस्यापि यथार्थज्ञानजनकतैव स्वभावेन, अप्रमाणज्ञानं त्वन्यनिमित्तमिति व्यवस्थापयितुमाद्ययोर्नायथार्थत्वमिच्छामि । चक्षुरादीनां हि प्रमाणाप्रमाणज्ञानसाधारणत्वे नायं नियमस्सिद्ध्येत् । मनसस्तु साधारणत्वेऽप्यात्मवदविरोधः ॥

(i 8).

In introducing this passage in his commentary, Jñānottama says :—

चिंतनाख्यातिमतमुपन्यस्यति—तृतीयं वेति ॥

From this it is clear that the older Prābhākaras admit over and above the two *jñānas* referred to above, a unitary *jñāna* which the *manas* of the percipient constructs out of the material furnished by the senses and memory. It is this additional *jñāna* that is *bhrama*, not the preliminary ones which are necessarily valid as in the later school. That is to say, objects are always apprehended correctly; but error may creep in in interpreting the apprehension. To contrast the two views: According to the later school, the two *jñānas*, involved in the so-called error stand apart unrelated; and it is the failure to recognise this lack of relation between them or between the objects they respectively denote (*asamsargāgraha*) that explains error; according to the older school also the same is the case up to a certain stage in the process of knowing, but later there arises a *jñāna* which includes in its content the non-existent relation. It is this *samsarga-graha* where there is no *samsarga* that constitutes error.¹ The latter explanation may appear to be more

1. This may appear to be the same as the *viparīta-khyāti* of Kumārila as expounded by Pārthasārathi Miśra. (*Sāstra-dīpikā*, p. 58, Nir: S. P.) But there is this difference viz., that error makes its appearance there at the earlier *savikalpaka* level of experience while here it does at a later stage—in 'the third *jñāna* due to *manas*' as it is put.

satisfactory ; but, by introducing a subjective element into error, it gives up the position of the absolute validity of knowledge maintained by the other school.

In the latter part of the passage quoted above from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* is discussed the bearing of this view on the self-validity of the Veda which is of so much importance to the Mīmāṃsaka. According to the later school, there being no *bhrama* at all, all experience is valid, and knowledge derived through the words of the Veda also is necessarily so. The Veda no doubt may not be properly understood; but that is due to some defect or other in the person trying to interpret it, as mistaking shell for silver is due to a deficiency in the organ of sight. Such a deficiency, however, can only prevent a person from understanding a passage completely but cannot introduce an element of *misrepresentation* into it, the conception of *doṣa* in the school being entirely negative :—

कार्यप्रतिबन्धकत्वमेव दोषाणां न हेतुत्वम् ॥

दोषस्य कार्यविघातकत्वमेव न पुनराधिक्यहेतुत्वम् ॥¹

The older Prābhākara also must have maintained the self-validity of the Veda. But how were they able to do it, admitting as they did that error might be one of commission, not of omission only? They held that the validity of the Veda would not be affected by this admission so long as knowledge at the stage, where each type of it such as *pratyakṣa*, etc. has its own distinctive aid (*asādhāraṇa-sāmagrī*) at work, was taken to be valid without exception. To deny validity to *jñāna* at that stage might lead to a suspicion of all knowledge, but not when it is done at a later stage in the psychological process, when *manas* alone is functioning. For *manas* is only a common (*sādhāraṇa*) cause and is an aid of *bhrama* as well as of *pramā*, like the self, but unlike the organs of sense etc. which originate only *pramā*.

1. Com : on *Iṣṭa-siddhi* (pp. 70 and 76 respectively of the Ms. in the Madras Oriental Lib.) Compare also the following passage occurring in the same connection in the *Nyāya-makaranda*, p. 60.

दोषाणां कार्योपजननसामर्थ्यविघातमात्रहेतुत्वात् ॥
IV—15

It is also well known for its power of misrepresenting,¹ and vitiation through it, they stated, cannot lead to the distrust of all knowledge. Now in regard to verbal knowledge, so long as its specific cause, viz. the significant word, is beyond suspicion, no doubt can be entertained; and, as far as the Veda is concerned, it is so according to all the Mīmāṃsakas.²

(iii) *Internal states*.—The view of the older Prābhākaras that *manas* is a common means of all knowing implies that there is nothing which is known with its special aid. How then do we know internal states like *sukha* and *duḥkha* which according to so many Indian thinkers are perceived by *manas* functioning as a specific cause? The reply of the older Prābhākaras to this question is contained in the following extract from the commentary on the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*—

ननु प्रमाणकारणेभ्यश्चक्षुरादिभ्यो यदि यथार्थमेव ज्ञानं तर्हि मनसोऽपि यथार्थयथार्थज्ञानसाधारण्यं न स्यात्, सुखादिप्रमाणज्ञानकारणत्वादित्याशङ्क्याह—मनसस्त्विति ॥ चिरंतनाख्यातिमते सुखादेस्त्वप्रकाशत्वात् नासाधारणकारणं मन इति भावः ॥³

That is, such states do not need to be known, for they are self-revealing⁴. The later school held a different view for it took these internal states to be *jaḍa*, as the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika for instance does; and looked upon them as knowable through *jñāna*⁵. It may be added that this view is less in accord with experience than that of the older school, for *sukha* etc. are necessarily felt when they are and as long as they are.

1. Com: on the *īṣṭa-siddhi*: Madras Ms. (p. 74).

मनोरथज्ञानानामयथार्थत्वं प्रसिद्धम् ॥

2. It has to be mentioned that the Prābhākaras recognise the Veda alone as *śabda-pramāṇa* and bring all other varieties of *śabda* under Inference as is done in the Vaiśeṣika.

3. Madras Oriental Library Ms. pp. 74-5.

4. This means that *sukha* etc., are placed on a footing different from that of knowledge by both the schools.

5. See *Prakarana-pañcika* pp. 51, 53, 149 & 151.

STUDIES IN THE UPANIṢADS.

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SECTION IV

VARṆAS AND ĀŚRAMAS.

Continued from page 17 of Vol. IV. J. O. R. M.

It is often assumed that the Āryan invaders of India early formulated the rigid rules of caste destined to keep the Āryan for ever apart from the degraded aborigines—who formed the Śūdra caste. But in the R̥gveda the word Śūdra which later denoted the servile fourth caste, is not found except in one hymn which is admitted to be late, and may even have belonged to the beginning of the age that produced the Brāhmaṇas. There are indications in Vedic literature that seem to show that the word Śūdra was originally the name of a tribe probably Non-Āryan. Later ages gave it its present meaning and supplied it with fanciful etymologies (*See Śaṅkara on Ch. Up. 4. 2. 3.*). The Śūdra caste did not include all the conquered aboriginal peoples, but only the most degraded or disliked sections of the original inhabitants, with a few degraded Āryans. The more progressive and better elements mingled with the Āryans to form the higher orders of the Indian peoples. The caste system was more of a prevention than a cure for the evils of race mixture. If, in the Upaniṣads, we expect to find pictures of a golden age when caste was unknown, we shall be sorely disappointed. There is less rigidity, but on the whole the system appears fairly well developed even in the earliest Upaniṣads. (*See Brh. Up. 4.3.22., where Caṇḍāla and Paulkasa are mentioned.*) In the same Upaniṣad 6.4.13, even the idea of a pollution by touch seems present. And in (*Ch. Up. 5. 10. 7*), those who were of good conduct are born

either as Brāhmīns, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas, and the wicked as dogs, swine or Caṇḍālas; with a fine disregard of the minor differences between the outcaste and the animals. The Śūdras are mentioned very rarely—as far as the Upaniṣads are concerned they practically do not exist (See Ch. Up. 8. 14. Cp. Kauṣī. Up. 2. 9 where only the three castes are mentioned.).

In the later Mait. Up. which evidently belongs to the Buddhist period, the attitude towards the fourth caste is decidedly that of orthodoxy in our own times. The Upaniṣad execrates the disciples of Śūdras, and Śūdras who know the Śāstras as robbers not fit for heaven—This shows not merely a greater intolerance towards the Śūdras, but the fact that the Śūdras themselves appear to have developed a taste for religious study and teaching.

In the Chāndogya Up. which appears to contain some of the oldest historical material to be found in the Upaniṣads, two stories are preserved that show a better state of things. Of these the story of Jānaśruti and Raikva is the earlier, and the story of Satyakāma Jābāla decidedly later. Indeed, Satyakāma was a contemporary of Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya. But Raikva belongs to perhaps the earliest Upaniṣadic period. The teaching he imparts is of a time when the Prāṇa-vāyu conception, which is as old as the Vedas, had not lost its early glamour.

The story is remarkable, because it is the only instance in all the thirteen Upaniṣads where a Śūdra is spoken of as seeking religious instruction, and spoken of without reproach. But in this case also the word Śūdra does not perhaps designate the caste, but rather the tribe to which Jānaśruti belongs and the story itself may belong to the transitory period when the tribe was tending to become the caste to which it gave its name. Jānaśruti presents Raikva with the Raikvaparna villages among the people of the Mahāvṛṣas. The Mahāvṛṣas are mentioned along with Gāndhāras, Mūjavants Vāhlikas, or Vālhikas, Aṅgas and Magadhas in the Ath. Veda (V. 22) as places to which fever is sent away. These people are, therefore, strangers and foreigners, evidently not approved of. In the same passage, fever is directed to the Śūdrā also and she is described as a woman of loose life (See also Weber: Sanskrit Literature, p. 147).

Macdonell (*Vedic Index*) says "Śūdra may originally have been the name of a large tribe opposed to the Āryan invasion."

Hopkins in his *Religions of India* has a note (p. 548.) 'It is highly probable that the mention of the north-west Śūdras in the Mahābhārata VI. 9. 67 refers to the Afghan Sudroi, and that the slave caste as a whole, which bears the name Śūdra, received this appellation first as conquered tribes of Afghanistan.'

There are Paurāṇic legends of the division of the earth among the ten sons of Manu, one of whom called Pṛṣadhra was cursed by his *guru* and became a Śūdra. (See Pargiter *Ancient Ind. Hist. Tradition*. p. 254 for references.) These legends may have been based upon some dim memory of the Śūdra tribe that gave its name to the fourth and lowest caste.

Jānaśruti's teacher Raikva is himself a noteworthy figure. He belongs, as the instruction he imparted shows, to the very beginning of the Upaniṣadic period and probably belonged to the sect called *Vrātyas*. A good deal of information is available about this sect, but their origin and character is still somewhat of a mystery.

The Ath. Veda has a whole hymn glorifying the *Vrātya* (Ath. V. XV) and in the Praśna Upaniṣad, Prāṇa is praised as *Vrātya*. It is very strange, therefore, that in later literature a *Vrātya* is either a low-caste man, or a man who has lost caste through non-observance of the proper ceremonies.

A *Vrātya* is defined as belonging to a roving band vagrant—member of a fellowship that stood without the Brahmanical pale—(Baudhāyana 1, 8, 16 Manu, X, 20); the son of an uninitiated man or one who has let the proper time for initiation slip by. Macdonell in his Vedic Index—under Brāhmaṇa (p. 92) says—"We need not doubt that the non-brahmanical tribes (See *Vrātya*) had attained intellectual as well as material civilization". Again, under *Vrātya* in the Vedic index, it is said that he finds a place in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha. In Ath. V. XV, and in several Śrauta Sūtras, a rite is described for the admission of *Vrātyas* to the Brahmanical community. According to Rājārām in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S.*, *Vrātyas* were of two classes—non-Āryans and degraded Āryans; but Professor Macdonell thinks this a mere guess and that there was only one class of *Vrātyas* and that it is not probable that they were non-Āryan, because of their being mentioned as speaking an apparently Prākṛtic form of Sanskrit, and the rite to admit them into the Brahmanical community would be hardly so natural in the case of non-Āryans. The

Notes on *Vrātyas*.

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Sūtras mention the Arhants or Saints of the *Vrātyas* and it has been thought that they are the predecessors of the Jains. They did not practise agriculture or commerce, nor observe Brahmacharya.

The dress of the Gr̥hapatis of the *Vrātyas*, consisted of a turban, a black garment, two skins, black and white, a whip, *jyāhroda* (a kind of bow) and a rough waggon. The Ath. V. XV also mentions a garment, a bow, turban, two *pravartas* (?) jewel, two footmen, a *vipatha* (waggon) a charioteer, goad, two forerunners, a harlot, and a Magadha among the *Vrātya*'s outfit.

According to Charpentier they are the founders of the Rudra-Śiva cult, the spiritual ancestors of the later and modern Śaivaites. Their cult of Śiva in his dread forms made them an object of suspicion.

The locality in which they lived cannot be ascertained, but their nomad life suggests tribes beyond the Sarasvatī, according to Professor Macdonell. The Brahmin who receives the *Vrātya*'s outfit when the latter is admitted into the Brahmanical community is said to be a Magadha. From all this, it appears that the *Vrātyas* were a roving sect alternately regarded with suspicion or treated with great reverence—perhaps Āryan but not conforming to any of the Brahmanical rules of life. They had a wandering life as their connection with the *vipatha* (waggon) and other parts of their outfit show. They did not observe Brahmacharya nor were they ascetics. A harlot and a Magadha (bard) are mentioned in connection with the *Vrātya* in the Ath. V. The Magadha in the *Vrātya*'s train, and the Magadha Brahmin who is said to receive the *Vrātya*'s outfit after the latter enters the Brahmanical community, show a connection with Magadha.

In the Ch. Up. Raikva is described as *Sayugvāna* the man with the cart. Raikva does not seem to have been a teacher of established position and fame. He is not known when inquired for and is found only after a long search, scratching his itches under a cart! But Jānaśruti's directions to the attendant who goes in search of him are significant "where one searches for a Brahman, there seek for him", and following these instructions the attendant who had at first searched for Raikva in vain, finds a man scratching his itch under a cart, and approaches him and inquires "Pray, sir, are you Raikva?" Brahman here seems to have been used in the sense of a Brahma-knower, and these wanderers may have had a great reputation for knowledge. The

great Jānaśruti himself then waits upon the wandering Saint with rich gifts—cows, a necklace and a chariot drawn by a she-mule—an appropriate gift, for the 'man with the cart'. When Raikva contemptuously refuses to speak, Jānaśruti takes his daughter also to him, and Raikva then accepts and proceeds to instruct him. A necklace, a chariot and a woman are curious gifts to offer a saintly wanderer, but not so if Raikva was a *Vrātya*, in which case they are natural and appropriate, a jewel, a cart and a woman being parts of a *Vrātya* Gṛhapati's outfit. The villages given to Raikva were among the Mahāvṛṣas, who appear to be the neighbours of the Magadhas according to Ath. V. (V. 22), and the *Vrātya*'s connection with the Magadha has been mentioned.

The only other story in the 13 Upaniṣads which may possibly throw light upon the position of the servant caste is that of Satyakāma Jābāla (Ch. Up. 4. 4). The mother of Satyakāma must have belonged either to the Brahman, or any other of the three higher castes who were not forbidden Veda study, because neither Satyakāma himself nor his teacher seems to have had any doubts about his right to sacred knowledge on the mother's side, or if she had been a Śūdrā as her position as a servant-maid in her youth seems to indicate, it would appear that, for Veda study, only paternal ancestry mattered. But the facts are in favour of our assuming that Jābālā belonged to one of the three higher castes probably Brahman, though she served as a maid in her youth. The teacher says to Satyakāma 'A non-Brahmana would not have been able to explain thus. Bring the fuel you have not deviated from the truth.' People who bring forward this story as an argument in favour of the absence or laxity of caste in Upaniṣadic times, generally overlook some important details in the story of Satyakāma. Setting aside the proud assumption of the teacher that Satyakāma's truthfulness and straightforwardness proved his Brahman birth, the very fact that he first inquires about the *gotra* of his would-be disciple, that Satyakāma comes prepared for the inquiry, and that Gautama accepts him as a disciple clearly on the assumption of his Brahman birth, show how important the caste question had become even in those early times. And although Gautama ostensibly received the nameless boy as a disciple, his subsequent behaviour is a compromise. He separates out four hundred lean weak cows for the new disciple to look

after, and the boy meekly accepts the difficult task, and lives away for a number of years till the four hundred lean weak cows become a thousand. It was clearly impossible for him to live on in his teacher's house as the custom was in the case of other students. As a reward for his loyalty and devotion, Satyakāma is miraculously instructed and returns with his face shining like a Brahma-knower, to the teacher who had treated him so unfairly, to beg for instruction from him because only the instruction given by a teacher will help him to attain his end. We know that in those days students of sacred knowledge lived usually for twelve years in the family of the teacher to study the Vedas. (See Ch. Up. 6. 1. 2, also 4. 10. 1.) Satyakāma does not appear to have received any regular Vedic teaching. But we know that Jābālā's devoted son became one of the better known Upaniṣadic teachers, and had disciples of his own. (See Bṛh. Up. 6. 3. 12, Ch. Up. 4. 10. 1.) He even gave instruction to the famous Janaka of Videha. (Bṛh. Up. 4. 1. 6.) Besides Haridrumata Gautama, Satyakāma had other teachers too—Jānaki Āyasthūṇa who taught him a rite handed down through Uddālaka and Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya.

In Satyakāma's time, which is the middle period of Upaniṣadic philosophy, caste, apparently not quite so rigid as in later times, was an already established system, which earnest and deserving students could sometimes just manage to override. Another point is noticeable. Brahmin (or high caste) women could and did do menial work and Jābālā's story reminds us of the legend that it was Śvetaketu the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, who was the first to make chastity a rule for women. Apparently the Upaniṣadic period was no golden age when Brahmins studied and taught, when Kṣatriyas governed and fought, when Vaiśyas traded and practised agriculture and the Śūdra served the three higher castes; nor on the other hand was it what some of our reformers in their more exuberant moods are fain to picture it—an age when caste did not exist. We know that even in those times degenerate Brahmins could be found to perform sacrifices for the unworthy, to accept gifts from those from whom gifts ought not to be accepted (Bṛh. Up. 4. 1. 2) (Also, Mait. Up. 7—8), who did not study the Veda and were Brahmins only in name. (Ch. Up. 5. 3. 1.) There were others, deserving, but poor, and reduced to begging like Uṣasti Cākrāyana in Ch. Up. 1-10. But it is hardly in keeping with the general tone of the Upaniṣads to

interpret the Udgītha of the dogs, (Ch. Up. 1. 12.) as a satire on the priests. Such ferocious mockery cannot be attributed to the Upaniṣads, even as a survival of their original Kṣatriya attitude, assuming that the Upaniṣads originally were fostered among the Kṣatriyas.

There is not much to be gleaned from the Upaniṣads regarding the status of the Vaiśya caste beyond the fact that they do not seem to have been regarded with any dislike. In Ch. Up. (5. 10. 7) the prospect of entering a Vaiśya womb is held out to those who are of good conduct, along with Brahman or Kṣatriya birth.

The Upaniṣadic teachers are of Brahman or Kṣatriya birth, and it is about the position and interrelations of these two castes that we can learn a great deal from these works.

The two castes seem to have been in very close relations with one another, and from other sources we know that they mingled a great deal, so that many of the leading Brahman families could lay claim to royal descent and on the other hand most of the royal houses could point to Kṣatriyas who had become Brahmans, and to many who had Brahman blood. According to Paurāṇic accounts many of the famous Upaniṣadic families were what Pargiter calls Kṣatriyan Brahmans, Śaunakas, Dai-vodāsas, Kāpyas, Gārgyas and Maitreyas. It was a common enough custom for Kṣatriya royal families to have sons begotten by Brahmans, and some of the customs in connection with the great sacrifices are also significant. It was again by no means unusual for even royal maidens to be given in marriage to Ṛṣis. It frequently happened also that Kṣatriyas by birth took to a Brahman mode of life. Yayāti, Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Gṛtsamada, Kaksīvant and Devāpi may be mentioned and these are by no means the only instances. When there was so much in common between the two highest castes, it need not surprise us when occasionally a Kṣatriya is mentioned as imparting Brahma-knowledge to a Brahman. But about the relative positions and duties of the two castes, the Upaniṣads themselves give us abundant information.

The Kṣatriya teachers whom the Upaniṣads mention, are, Aśvapati Kaikeya who taught Uddālaka Āruṇi the mystical *Agni-hotra*, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali who defeated the learned Brahmans in a discussion on the Udgītha, and taught Uddālaka the doctrine of

the "Five Fires", Ajātaśatru of Benares who put the learned Gārgya to shame; and we may mention also Janaka of Videha the munificent patron of Brahmans and the friend and disciple of Yājñavalkya.

Arguing from these examples, Professor Deussen and others too have thought that the Brahman and Ātman theories were at first fostered in Kṣatriya circles, though they might have originated with the Brahmans. But the instances of Kṣatriyas giving instruction to Brahmans are after all, only exception. The instruction given is about the Ātman and Brahma, and about the fate of the soul after death, and these, it is true, are the chief themes of the Upaniṣads. A great deal has been made of Jaivali's words to Uddālaka when he came to him for instruction—which have been thus translated—(Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*)

Ch. Up. 5. 3. 7. "As to what you have told me, Gautama, this knowledge has never yet come to Brahmans before you, and therefore, in all the worlds has the rule belonged to the Kṣatriya only."

Brh. Up. 6. 2. 8. "As truly as this knowledge has never heretofore dwelt with any Brahman whatsoever, so truly may not you and your grandfathers injure us. But I will tell it to you, for who is able to refuse you when you speak thus?"

The texts themselves are :—

Ch. Up. 5. 3. 7. "Yathā mā tvam Gautamā vado yatheyam na prāktvataḥ purā vidyā Brāhmaṇam gacchati, tasmādu sarveṣu lokeṣu Kṣatrasyeva praśāsanam abhūditi."

Brh. 6. 2. 8. "tathā nastvam Gautama māparadhāstava ca pitāmahā yatheyam vidyetaḥ pūrvam na kasmirīṣcana Brāhmaṇa uvāsa, tām tvaham tubhyam vakṣyāmi ko hi tvaivam bruvantam arhati pratyākhyātum iti."

These texts may also be translated thus :—

Ch. Up. 5. 3. 7. "As to what you have told me, Gautama, since this *vidyā* has never belonged to Brahmans before you, therefore, in all the worlds the *teaching* (of this *vidyā*) has belonged to the Kṣatriya only."

Brh. 6. 2. 8. "Because this *vidyā* has never before this dwelt with any Brāhmaṇa whatsoever, therefore may not

you nor your forefathers injure us. Well, I will tell it to you, for who is able to refuse you when you speak thus."

According to Professor Deussen the "Five Fires" section is a secondary product, and the doctrine itself in its original form is found in the Yājñavalkya sections. If this is so, how can Jaivali say 'This *vidyā* has never dwelt with Brahmans before?' Apart from this (for it is by no means certain that the *Pañcāgnividyā* was a later growth unknown at the time of the collection of the *Madhu* and *Yājñavalkya* sections of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*) why should '*praśāsanam*' be translated 'rule' or 'government here'? Is it not more natural to say, "Because, Brahmans have never known this *vidyā* before you, therefore the *teaching* of it has everywhere been done by Kṣatriyas only" instead of saying "Because this *vidyā* has never belonged to Brahmans before, therefore the government has been in the hands of Kṣatriyas only." It is not the fact of the Kṣatriyas being rulers that calls for comment, but the fact of their imparting sacred knowledge to a Brahman.

Jaivali makes a difficulty about teaching Gautama in both the *Bṛh. Up.* and the *Ch. Up.* In the latter he becomes troubled when Gautama asks for instruction, in the *Bṛh. Up.* he declines to give him the instruction saying "That is among divine boons, mention a human boon," and when Gautama points out that he does not require wealth, he tells him "Then you should seek in the usual manner." On Gautama's accepting this condition he says evidently in palliation of his offence in teaching a Brahman, "As this *vidyā* has never dwelt with any Brahman before, so may not you nor your grandfathers injure use" (for presuming to give you a Brahman, sacred knowledge). Everywhere in the Upaniṣads the Brahmans are the teachers of sacred knowledge, and this position is never reversed without exciting comment. See *Bṛh. Up.* 2. 1. 15, *Kauṣī. Up.* 4. 19—where Ajātaśatru says to Gārgya asking for instruction,

'*pratilomam caitad yad Brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam upeyād brahma me vakṣyatīti*' (*Bṛh. Up.*)

and '*pratilomarūpameva syāt yat kṣatriyo brāhmaṇa-mupanayīta*'—(*Kauṣī. Up.*).

In *Ch. Up.* 5. 11. 7, where the five householders, with Gautama Āruṇi go to the king Aśvapati Kaikeya for instruction in the Ātman Vaiśvānara, he teaches them *without formally*

receiving them as disciples. And the attitude towards Brahmans in the matter of sacred knowledge is clear in Ch. Up. 1. 8. 2 also, where Pravāhaṇa Jaivali tells the two Brahmans in the discussion on the Udgītha—"Do you two, Sirs, speak first. While there are two Brahmans speaking, I will listen to their word." It is clear that although sacred knowledge was freely given to Kṣatriyas, teaching was the special privilege of the Brahman only—and it was strange, indeed, for the latter to seek religious instruction from the warrior caste. Śvetaketu refuses to accompany his large-hearted father when he goes to Jaivali for instruction, and it is evidently a matter of bitterness to him that he was not able to answer any one of the king's questions. "Verily indeed without having instructed me Sir, you said 'I have instructed you,'" he reproachfully says to his father, "Five questins a *Rājanyabandhu* has asked me, I was not able to explain even one of them." The term *Rājanyabandhu* shows what Śvetaketu thought of a Kṣatriya who claimed sacred knowledge.

The questions themselves show that it was the *upāsana* called the *Pañcāgnividyā* about which Jaivali questioned Śvetaketu and not the doctrine itself. The upaniṣads trace that back to the R̥gveda itself.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka account of the *Pañcāgnividyā* shows certain differences in tone, that are interesting if due to a change of attitude between the two castes. In the Ch. Up. Śvetaketu calls the king *Bhagavān*. In the Bṛh. Up. he is not so respectful. In the Ch. Up. it is merely said that Gautama Āruṇi went alone to Jaivali for instruction, in the Bṛh. Up. Śvetaketu is asked to accompany him, and refuses to do so. Again in the earlier account, the king does not insist on Gautama's making a profession of discipleship. In the Bṛh. Up. he makes a point of it. These differences may be due to a growing antagonism between the castes, a greater assumption of superiority on the part of the Brahmans, and a growing resentment on the part of the Kṣatriyas—an inclination to stand on their rights. However that may be, this attitude is certainly later than the incident itself, as the Bṛh. account of the *Pañcāgnividyā* is evidently later than the original account in Ch. Up. 5. 3. 10.

Even in the two earliest Upaniṣads the position of the Brahman is in no way inferior to that, which other works of perhaps later period have claimed for him. Bṛh. Up. 1. 4. 15 says "Among

the gods Brahma appeared as Agni, among men as the Brahman Therefore people desire a place among the gods in Agni, among men in a Brahman." In. Ch. Up. 2. 20, the knower of the *Rājana sāmān*, woven upon the divinities, should observe a vow not to find fault with the Brahmans—since they are the earthly representatives of divinity. In the Tait. Up. 1-11, there seems to be a tacit assumption that the students as well as the teachers are Brahmans. In the later Kāṭha we find these verses

As Fire, enters

A Brahman guest into houses.

They make this the quieting thereof :—

Bring water, Vaivasvata !

Kāṭha. 1-8. Hope and expectation, intercourse and pleasantness
Sacrifices and meritorious deeds, sons and cattle—
all

This he snatches away from the man of little
understanding,

In whose home a Brahman remains without eating.

Proud claims these, if all this is declared of the caste, rather than the Brahma-knower; and from the context the former appears to be the case. In the latest of our Upaniṣads, the Maitri. it almost appears as if it was no longer natural for kings to seek Brahma-knowledge. "Such things used to happen ! Very difficult is this question. Aikṣvāka, choose other desires" replies the sage in answer to the king's request for instruction, after he had renounced the world and undergone long course of austerity. (Mait. 1. 2.) And elsewhere the same Upaniṣad declares,

"Pursuit of one's own regular duty in one's own stage of the religious life—that verily is the rule ! Other rules are like a bunch of grass." Mait. 4. 3.

The word Brāhmaṇa is also used in the sense of Knower of Brahma, Brh. Up. 3. 5. 1. "Therefore let a Brāhmaṇa become disgusted with learning and desire to live as a child. When he has become disgusted both with the state of childhood and with learning, then he becomes a *muni*. When he has become disgusted both with the non-ascetic state and the ascetic state, then he becomes a Brāhmaṇa." Here the word Brāhmaṇa, used at first in the sense of a man of the Brahman caste is then used in the sense of Knower of Brahma. See also Brh. Up. 4. 4. 23. "Free

from evil, free from impurity, free from doubt, he becomes a Brāhmaṇa."

The respective positions of the two castes is indicated in Brh. Up. 1. 4. 11—Brahma, being One, was not developed. He supercreates the Kṣatrahood. ".....Therefore there is nothing higher than Kṣatra. Therefore at the Rājasūya ceremony the Brāhmaṇa sits below the Kṣatriya. Upon Kṣatrahood alone does he confer this honour. This same thing, namely Brahmanhood, is the source of Kṣatrahood. Therefore even if a king attains supremacy he rests finally upon Brahmanhood as his own source. So, whoever, injures him (a Brahman) attacks his own source....."

The occasions of the great sacrifices gave an opportunity for learned Brahmins to display their attainments and for kings like Janaka to honour and reward them—See Brh. 6. 2, and Ch. 5. 3; also Ch. Up. 1. 10; 11; 5. 11. 5; 6;—That rich rewards were won by learned Brahmins, we know from the account of Janaka's sacrifice and Ajātaśatru's offer to Gārgya Bālāki. Brahmins, when they visited kings, were offered a boon. Great honour was paid to the learned visitor, and in cases where the king became his disciple, he was treated with marked deference. Janaka descends from his cushion to show respect to his preceptor.

Under these circumstances it is to be expected that Brahmins in this period were rich and powerful. Interesting details about their wealth are incidentally mentioned. In Brh. Up. 6. 2. 7. Gautama says to Jaivali offering a boon of human wealth, "It is well known that I have a full share of gold, of cows and horses, of female slaves, of rugs, of apparel." A female slave, chariot and gold necklace are mentioned in Ch. Up. 5. 13. 1, also as possessed by a Brahman householder, also rows of chariots. The Brahmins did not despise wealth and worldly prosperity—See Taitt. Up. 1. 11. A picture of Kṣatriyan magnificence is described in Kauṣī. Up. 1. 4. 5—where the knower of Brahma triumphantly advances into the Brahma-world and is met by five hundred Apsarases, one hundred carrying fruits, another hundred with ointments, another hundred with garlands, another hundred with vestments and yet another with powdered aromatics, who adorn him, and conduct him to the city Sāyujya, to the abode Aparājita, past the two door-keepers into the 'Extensive' hall to where on the throne—Vicakṣaṇa. Brahma is seated on the couch Amitaujas, with its spread bolster, and pillow.

The Ch. Up. in its earlier portions does not appear to recognise more than two stages in the life of a Brahman—Veda-study and the life of a householder. In Ch. Up. 2. 23. three branches of religious duty are mentioned, but it is not clear that these are recognised as stages in life but only as three branches of religious duty. They are given in this order (1) Sacrifice, Veda-study and almsgiving, (2) Austerity, (3) A Brahmacārin living permanently in the house of his teacher. All these win meritorious worlds, but he who abides firmly in Brahma, goes to immortality. In Ch. Up. 8. 5 also three stages are indicated. (1) *Brahmacarya*, (2) *yajña*, *iṣṭam*, and *sattrāyaṇa* as good deeds, (3) *mauna*, *anāśakāyana*, and *araṇyāyana* as austerity. In Ch. Up. 5. 10. 1 and 3, sacrifice, merit and alms are mentioned, with austerity in the forest, and here also we have no proof that these are stages in one life, but only two different modes of life. The concluding words of the Ch. Up. also do not show a religious life of four or even three stages. After learning the Veda from the family of a teacher, according to rule, in time left over from doing work for the teacher, the student is directed to continue Veda-study in a home of his own, and produce sons and pupils, to concentrate his senses on the Ātman, to harm no living creature, and live thus throughout his life to gain eternal liberation. This is nearly the standpoint of Taitt. Up. 1. 11 also, as shown in the teacher's parting advice to his pupil.

In 5. 3. and in 4. 10. 4 the Chāndogya speaks of Śvetaketu Āruneya and Upakosala, the disciple of Satyakāma, as having undergone 12 years of Veda-study in the families of their teachers. Śvetaketu goes away at the age of twelve, and returns when he is twenty-four, and Upakosala tends the sacred fires in his teacher's house for twelve long years, and although after that period, other students return, he is kept on by his teachers. These two names belong to the latest period of the Ch. Up. and by that time, the middle period of Upaniṣadic philosophy, the stage of Brahmacārin seems to have become formally established.

In the Brh. Up. 4. 4. 22, Yājñavalkya speaks of Brahmans desiring to know the Ātman by means of Veda-repetition, sacrifice, penance and fasting, of those who know him, becoming ascetics, of those who desire him, only wandering forth as mendicants, forsaking all other ties—as Yājñavalkya himself is said to have left all possessions behind and wandered forth. In the

Brh. Up. three stages are beginning to be recognised though they may not have become fixed. The word *parivrāj* is used. It was at this time that philosophers began to lay stress on desirelessness and renunciation as necessary to the seeker after truth, and as the inevitable consequence of the realization of the Absolute Oneness of the soul.

In the Maitri. Up. we find it laid down that pursuit of one's regular duty in *one's own stage of the religious life*, alone leads upwards, and austerity, if it transgresses these stages, is not proper. The *āśramas* have become fixed, and like much else in our culture, what had at first been devised as a safeguard and support tended to become stumbling-blocks that many of our great saints had perforce to surmount.

SECTION V.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

In the Upaniṣadic period, education seems to have been conducted on nearly ideal lines—and it is on this field that we catch glimpses of the golden age we sometimes love to picture in our country's past.

Education in that period seems to have had religious training as its main object, perhaps because the light thrown by the Upaniṣads on this subject is bound to be coloured by the character of these works which were exclusively engaged with religion and philosophy.

In Brh. Up. 4. 1. the three Vedas with the Ath. Veda (Hymns or the Atharvaṇa and Angirases) *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, *vidyās*, *upaniṣads*, *ślokas*, *sūtras*, *anuvyākhyānas*, and *vyākhyānas* are mentioned. In Ch. Up. 7. 1. 2 a fuller list is given by Nārada evidently to emphasise his ignorance of the soul in spite of all his knowledge—The four Vedas, *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, Grammar, Rites for the manes, Mathematics, Augury, Chronology, Logic, Polity, *devavidyā*, *bhūtaavidyā*, *kṣatrawidyā*, *nakṣatravidyā*, Snake-charming and Fine arts—So we may take it that in addition to the four Vedas, legend and ancient lore, the sciences of Grammar, Logic and Mathematics, and the arts of Government, Astrology and Astronomy, the Fine arts, and Magic were all recognised branches of study in the earliest Upaniṣads. A fairly comprehensive list! Yājñavalkya in the Brh. Up. 4. 1 (given above) mentions only the Vedas and *itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, *Vidyās*,

and Upaniṣads, and then explanatory Ślokas and Sūtras and commentaries, a list of exclusively religious and philosophic character.

In the Muṇḍaka we meet with a list comprising the four Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas all classed together as the *Aparā vidyā*.

The scope of education in ancient India was, therefore, very wide. The method of imparting education aimed at giving the student mental and moral discipline, and training him to fulfil his duties in the householder's state. Knowledge was pursued with a single-hearted earnestness that excites our wonder and admiration.

It seems to have been the general rule for boys to leave their home at an early age, say about 12 years as in the case of Śvetaketu (Ch. Up. 5. 3. 1) and spend usually 12 years in the house of a teacher as a Brahmācārin. (See Ch. Up. 5. 3. 1 and 4. 10. 1.) While there, he was expected to serve his teacher. See Ch. Up. 8. 15 and Taitt. Up. 1. 11. "Be one to whom a teacher is good." At the end of his discipleship he was dismissed after he had brought a gift to his teacher according to his means, with an earnest injunction to continue his study in home of his own. That the religious student's life was no bed of roses we can easily infer. "Just study and teaching! says Nāka Maudgalya, for that is austerity, for that is austerity!"

After the twelve years discipleship the Brahmācārin returned to his home to take up the duties of a householder. His study was continued and later on he gathered round him disciples of his own.

Some texts show that either during the term of discipleship or after they had entered the householder's estate, students travelled about studying the sacrifice or seeking instruction from teachers of reputation. See Brh. Up. 3. 4 ; 3. 7. There are many instances of great householders going in search of famous teachers to learn from them the nature of the Soul and God. See Ch. Up. 5. 11. 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; When engaged in this single-hearted quest they did not let any other consideration to interfere. See also Ch. Up. 5. 3—Brh. Up. 6. 2, Ch. 4. 1 ; 2.

Wandering teachers went about teaching and expounding and joining in discussions at great sacrifices where rich gifts were offered and high honour paid to 'the best Brahman.' Kings patronised learned Brahmans, and considered themselves honoured by their visits. See Ajātaśatru and Gārgya, Yājñavalkya and

Janaka, Pravāhaṇa and Gautama Āruṇi and Aśvapati Kaikeya and the six Brahmans who came to him for instruction in the Ātman-Vaiśvānara.

Many teachers specialised in *vidyās* and *upāsanaś*, in search of which students came to them from all parts. These *vidyās* were imparted only to sons or disciples. The *upāsana* of Brahma, as the Sun of the Universe, Ch. 3. 1-11 seems to have been special to Uddālaka's family. The honey doctrine in Brh. Up. 2. 5, traced back to the Ṛgveda, was handed down in a line of teachers mentioned in Brh. Up. 2. 6. It was an age of original thought when philosophy and religion were growing into shape in the hands of great teachers and thinkers, who were capable of moulding existing laws to new conditions (See Brh. Up. 4. 4. 5) or of striking out new lines of their own. See Ch. Up. 6. 2. where Uddālaka criticises the view that not-Being only was in the beginning.

SECTION VI.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

The names of Maitreyī and Gārgī, the two Brahmvādinīs of the Upaniṣads, are familiar to all who are interested in Upaniṣadic culture. Of these, Gārgī who attended the learned assembly at Janaka's court, on the occasion of a great sacrifice, twice questions Yājñavalkya. On the first occasion Yājñavalkya silences her at last with a rebuke. She afterwards questions him again and is fully and satisfactorily answered. Unlike the other questioners Gārgī is depicted as rather vainglorious. She begins—"Venerable Brahmans lo, I will ask him two questions. If he will answer me these, not one of you will surpass him in discussions about Brahma," and to the great philosopher himself, "As a noble youth of the Kāśis or of the Videhas might rise up against you, having strung his unstrung bow, and taken two foe-piercing arrows in his hand, even so O Yājñavalkya have I risen up against you with two questions. Answer me these." And he quietly replies 'Ask, Gārgī'. Brh. Up. 3. 8. 1 ; 2. Her questions lead Yājñavalkya back beyond space as the ultimate world ground, to the Imperishable and elicit from the great philosopher a magnificent description of this Supreme Imperishable. She is not inferior to the other questioners, though we could wish she had adopted a different tone. Perhaps then, as now, women sometimes carried their honours with a flourish.

This instance of a Brahman woman of good family frequenting learned assemblies and moving with the foremost thinkers

and philosophers on equal terms, taking a prominent part in a discussion in every branch of sacred learning, is not related with any sort of comment. There is no sign that Gārgī's case was in any way unusual. In this connection Bṛh. Up. 6. 4. 17 is noticeable. In the ceremonies for procreation any one who wishes to have a learned (*paṇḍita*) daughter is asked to follow certain directions. Daughters were evidently not a curse and learning was no doubtful blessing for a woman, (as even in our days it is sometimes held to be) and it was considered natural to wish for a learned daughter as for a learned son.

Yājñavalkya's wife Maitreyī is also described as *Brahmavādinī* (Bṛh. Up. 4. 5. 1). When her husband is about to go forth as a wandering ascetic she chooses the sacred knowledge he may have to impart, in preference to all the worldly wealth with which he proposes to endow her. 'What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal.' And Yājñavalkya says in reply, 'Though you, my lady, were dear to us, you have increased your dearness.' and proceeds to instruct her. There is not the slightest hint that the highest knowledge was considered unsuitable to a woman, although it is said that this was not a subject in which women generally took any interest.

In those times even Brahmans like Yājñavalkya sometimes had more than one wife, though there is nothing to lead us to suppose that this was usual. The position of women as mothers was very high. In Taitt. Up. 1. 11 the student is instructed to honour his mother as a god—here a mother is mentioned first, then a father, teacher and guest.

From the story of Satyakāma, we can infer that high caste women also did menial work in strange houses—where it sometimes chanced that they lapsed from virtue, or it may even be true that in the earliest times ideas on these subjects were not what they afterwards became. (See Varṇas and Aśramas) See Ch. Up. 2. 13. 2—where the knower of *Vāma-devya sāmān* is to observe the vow of never abstaining from any woman; Bṛh. Up. 6. 4. 7; 6. 4. 9—where a woman is desired with the thought of enjoyment only; 6. 4. 10—where she is desired with the thought 'may she not conceive offspring'; 6. 4. 12—where an incantation against a wife's lover is described, and the warning given, "one should not desire sport with the spouse of a *śrotriya* who knows this." In this connection the unsolved problem of the

matronymics in the *vaṁśa* of the Vājasaneyā school gains significance. Satyakāma is called Jābāla after his mother.

The custom of having women slaves has been noticed above. Of what caste or nationality these were we have no means of determining.

(To be Continued.)

STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

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(Continued from page 44—Vol. IV—J.O.R.M.)

III.

We saw in the preceding article that when Vālmiki has to describe the greatness, dignity and lustre of kings and other great personages, he compares them to the Sun and Moon. But many are the occasions when 'greatness' in the mere physical sense, or 'magnitude' also calls for description. Here, mountains and clouds almost seem to hold the monopoly for acting as standards of comparison. The first object which seems to occur to the poet when he wants to find an analogy for something which is just 'big' is a mountain, a perfectly intelligible comparison and one that is likely to occur to human beings all over the world. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Vālin and Śugrīva, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, Hanumān and Jaṭāyus, Atikāya and Trīśiras—these are some among the many characters of the work who are likened to a mountain.¹ Usually the comparison is of a very simple nature, in which we are just told that somebody big is like a mountain. Sometimes, however, we get details. Vālin is struck by Śugrīva with a Sāla tree as a mountain is struck

1. तौ हन्यमानौ नाराचैर्धाराभिरिव पर्वतौ । R. VI. 80. 29.

इषुणाभिहतं दृष्ट्वा वालिनं कुञ्जरोपमम् ।

वानरं पर्वतेन्द्राभम् । R. IV. 20. 3.

सुभुजं शुक्रदर्शनं महास्यं पर्वतोपमम् (रावणम्) । R. III. 32. 9.

तं दृष्ट्वा राक्षसश्रेष्ठं पर्वताकारदर्शनम् (कुम्भकर्णम्) । R. VI. 61. 2.

ततो हनूमान् गिरिसन्निकाशः

कृताञ्जलिस्तामभिवाद्य वृद्धाम् । R. IV. 50. 40.

ततः पर्वतशृङ्गाभस्तीक्ष्णतुण्डः खगोत्तमः । R. III. 50. 2.

(अतिकायः) शृङ्गाभ्यामिव तुङ्गाभ्यां हिमवान् पर्वतोपमः । R. VI. 71. 23.

अभ्यद्रवद्रणे रामं (त्रिशिराः) त्रिशृङ्ग इव पर्वतः । R. III. 27. 7.

by 'vakra'. Lakṣmaṇa, with three arrows striking out of his forehead, looked like a mountain with three peaks¹. It is not only living beings who are compared to mountains for their size ; a host of other things are so compared. Thus, houses and palaces are usually likened to peaks of mountains, either for their size or for the closely connected conception of height. The palaces of all kings, no matter whether they are men, monkeys or merely, Rākṣasas, are equally honoured in this manner². That elephants, of all animals, should be compared to mountains is not likely to cause surprise in anybody³. Equally natural is the comparison of clouds with mountains⁴. In fact the connection between mountains and clouds is so close that they seem almost interchangeable in most of the images of the Rāmāyaṇa. About this, however, more will be said later. Waves in the sea are also likened to mountains⁵, which is also quite intelligible. When the poet says that the trees, with smoke clinging to their tops, look like "Vaidūrya" hills covered with clouds,⁶ we must recognize that something more than mere size is the basis of comparison. There is also the green colour of the tree which has called forth the analogy with the tree. When the

1. गात्रेष्वभिहतो वाली वज्रेणैव महागिरिः । R. IV. 16. 23.
तैः पृष्ठकैर्ललाटस्थैः शुशुभे रघुनन्दनः ।
रणाग्रे समरश्लाघी त्रिशूंग इव पर्वतः ॥ R. VI. 91. 34.
2. स तु वेदम पुनर्मातुः कैलासशिखरप्रभम् । R. II. 39. 27.
गृहैश्च गिरिसंकाशैः शारदाम्बुदसन्निभैः । R. V. 2. 16.
विन्ध्यमेरुगिरिप्रख्यैः प्रासादैः । R. IV. 33. 8.
शुक्लैः प्रासादशिखरैः कैलासशिखरोपमैः । R. IV. 33. 15.
मेरुशृङ्गसमं सूतो राजवेदम ददर्श ह । R. II. 15. 37.
3. वारणैरवमृद्यन्ते मामकैः पर्वतोपमैः । R. 99. 3 II.
गजैः पर्वतकूटभैः । R. III. 25. 10.
नागाश्च गिरिसन्निभाः । R. II. 16. 34
गजा मदोत्कटाः शूराश्चलन्त इव पर्वताः ।
4. संपश्य त्वं नभो मेघैः संवृतं गिरिसन्निभैः । R. IV. 28. 2.
5. मेरुमंदरसंकाशान् उद्रतान् सुमहार्णवे ।
अत्यक्रामन् महावेगांस्तरङ्गान् गणयन्निव ॥ R. V. 1. 70.
6. एते वृक्षाः प्रकाशन्ते धूमसंसक्तमस्तकाः ।
मेघजालप्रतिच्छन्ना वैदूर्यगिरयो यथा ॥ R. IV. 13. 24.

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'parigha' or the 'club' is compared to a mountain-peak,¹ perhaps mere magnitude is the basis of the comparison. The same is the case where heaps of food are likened to mountains.²

While elephants are compared to mountains on account of their huge size, they themselves can become standards of comparison in the matter of magnitude.³ In all these images, figuring mountains, the ranges and peaks usually mentioned are Kailāsa, Meru, Mandara, Vindhya and Himālaya.

As was pointed out above, clouds play a part in Sanskrit imagery very similar to that of mountains,⁴ except that the poet seems to be conscious not only of their size, but also of their colour, dark or white according to the season of the year. That is why it is chiefly monkeys and Rākṣasas, in whom size and colour are equally remarkable, who are usually compared to clouds. Usually the comparison is a very simple one, but sometimes it becomes more picturesque. Vālin, with his garland round his neck looks like a cloud tinged by the red glow of the evening.⁵ Sugriva with his garland looks like the evening cloud with its

1. जग्राह गिरिशृङ्गाभं परिधं लोमहर्षणम् । R. III. 26. 10.
2. अन्नकूटाश्च दृश्यन्ते बहवः पर्वतोपमाः । R. I. 14. 15.
3. वानरान् द्विरदप्रख्यान् । R. IV. 13. 11.
वालिनं कुञ्जरोपमम् । R. IV. 20. 2.
4. अञ्जनाम्बुदसंकाशाः कुञ्जरेन्द्रमहौजसः ।
अञ्जने पर्वते चैव ये वसन्ति प्लवंगमाः ॥ R. IV. 37. 5.
सपर्वतवनाकाशां दक्षिणां हरिवाहिनी ।
छादयन्ती ययौ भीमा घामिवाम्बुदसंततिः ॥ R. VI. 4. 58.
ते (राक्षसाः) वलाहकसंकाशा महाकाया महाबलाः । R. III. 25. 9.
इति प्रतिसमादिष्टा राक्षसास्ते चतुर्दश ।
तत्र जग्मुस्तया सार्धं घना वातेरिता यथा ॥ R. III. 19. 26.
ततो नीलाम्बुदप्रख्यः प्रहस्तो नाम राक्षसः । R. VI. 8. 1.
नीलजिभूतसंकाशस्तप्तकाञ्चनकुण्डलः । R. III. 38. 2.
(विराधः) धरण्यां मेघसंकाशो वज्रभिन्न इवाचलः । R. III. 4. 6
5. स(वाली) तया मालया वीरो हैमया हरियूथपः ।
सन्ध्यानुगतपर्यन्तः पयोधर इवाभवत् ॥ R. IV. 17. 6.

string of *balāka* birds.¹ Rāvaṇa smeared with sandal paste, looks like a cloud with lightning.² In all this, not merely the size and colour of the cloud, but the colour of the garlands or sandal paste also suggests the image. Many are the passages where houses and palaces are likened to clouds, but here it is the white autumn clouds which are usually mentioned, they being more appropriate for tall white-washed buildings, having many stories.³ Among other objects compared to clouds are forest ranges,⁴ or groves of trees, which can produce the illusion of clouds, especially when they are at a distance, a line of smoke,⁵ from its very obvious resemblance to a mass of clouds, elephants⁶ and finally, mountains themselves.⁷ The identification of cloud and mountain is deep-rooted and universal among human beings, as the study of Indo-European languages shows.

Whether the standard of comparison be the Sun or the Moon, Mountain or cloud, it seems to describe only the general aspect of a person or thing. There are, however, the details to be considered, especially in the case of persons. The work abounds, in images descriptive of the different parts of the body of men, monkeys and demons. The following table will show at a glance the objects to which the different parts of the body are compared.

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| 1. | स तया शुशुभे श्रीमांल्लतया क ^{ण्ठ} सक्तया ।
मालयेव बलाकानां ससन्ध्य इव तोयदः ॥ R. IV. 12. 41. |
| 2. | लोहितेनानुलिताङ्गं चन्दनेन सुगान्धिना ।
सन्ध्यारक्तमिवाकाशं तोयदं सतडिद्गणम् ॥ R. V. 10. 8. |
| 3. | स गृहैरभ्रसंकाशैः पाण्डुरैरुपशोभितम् । R. II. 17. 2.
सिताभ्रशिखरप्रख्यं प्रासादमधिरुह्य च । R. II. 5. 22.
सिताभ्रशिखराभ्रेषु देवतायतनेषु च । R. II. 6. 11. |
| 4. | एतत्प्रकाशते दूरान्नीलमेघनिभं वनम् । R. II. 93. 8.
वनं महामेघनिभं प्रविष्टो द्रुमैर्महाद्भिर्विविधैरुपेतम् । R. III. 3. 26.
एष मेघ इवाकाशे वृक्षषण्डः प्रकाशते । R. IV. 13. 14. |
| 5. | एतच्च वनमध्यस्थं कृष्णाभ्रशिखरोपमम् ।
पावकस्याभ्रमस्थस्य धूमाग्रं संप्रदृश्यते ॥ R. III. 11. 51. |
| 6. | वारणैश्च चतुर्दन्तैः श्वेताभ्रनिचयोपमैः । R. V. 4. 28. |
| 7. | पर्वतांश्चाभ्रसन्निभान् । R. III. 11. 45. |

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Object compared.

Standard of comparison.

Colour of person—	blue lotus, cloud, <i>Vaidūrya</i> , <i>añjana</i> (dark persons) ; molten gold ¹ .
Face.	Moon, lotus, sun, coral ² .
Eyes.	Lotus, fire, copper, <i>alāta</i> , blood, deer's eyes, Sun. ³
Tresses.	Black cobra, line of forests. ⁴
Lips.	Copper. ⁵
Neck.	Colour of sandal. ⁶
Shoulders.	Bull's, lion's. ⁷
Breasts.	Ripe <i>Tāla</i> fruits, <i>Bilva</i> fruits. ⁸

1. इन्दीवरश्यामः । R. II. 89. 19 ;
मेघश्यामं महाबाहुम् (रामम्) । R. II. 83.8;
स्निग्धवैदूर्यसंकाशः (रावणः) । R. III. 35. 8 ;
भिन्नाञ्जनचयश्यामः । R. VI. 45. 14;
तप्तकाञ्चनवर्णाभा । R. III. 34, 17.
सुग्रीवो हेमपिङ्गलः । R. IV. 14. 9.
2. राकाशशिनिभाननः । R. III. 31. 16;
सदृशं शारदस्येन्दोः फुल्लस्य कमलस्य च । R. II. 64. 70 ;
विद्रुमप्रतिमाननः (हनुमान्) । R. V. 33. 2.
3. कमलपत्राक्षीम् (कैकेयीम्) । R. II. 10. 27 ;
कमलपत्राक्षः (रामः) । R. II. 13. 9 ;
चक्षुषानलकल्पेन । R. III. 11. 66 ;
विनिःश्वस्य स ताम्राक्षः क्रुद्धो नाग इव श्वसन् । R. II. 92. 28 ;
अलातसदृशेक्षणा । R. III. 18. 17 ;
क्षतजसमे नयने । R. IV. 35. 23;
क्षतजोपमाक्षः । R. IV. 24. 31 ;
मृगशावाक्षीम् । R. III. 18. 17;
नवाकोदितताम्रचक्षुः । R. VI. 59. 17.
4. नीलनागाभया वेण्या । R. V. 14. 25 ;
नीलया नीरदापाये वनराज्या महीमिव । R. V. 14. 25.
5. चारुताम्रोष्ठम् । R. III. 52. 21.
6. चन्दनवर्णाभा ग्रीवा (सीतायाः) । R. III. 60. 32.
7. सिंहवृषस्कन्धः । R. IV. 53. 7.
8. पक्तालोपमस्तनी । R. III. 60. 18;
विल्वोपमस्तनी । R. III. 60. 13.

Arms.	Blot, elephant's trunk, Indra's banner. ¹
Hands.	Five-headed snakes, Indra's banner, lotus. ²
Thighs.	Elephant's trunk, plantain tree. ³
Voice.	Cloud, <i>Dundubhi</i> , <i>Kalahansa</i> . ⁴
Gaze.	Lion.
Tears.	Crystal. ⁵
Gait.	Proud tiger's, Intoxicated elephant's, Bull's. ⁶

All this relates only to the description of the purely external aspect of persons and things, without any reference to their feelings or their relation to one another. Such description is not, however, the chief interest of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which abounds, as was said before, in pictures of men and women, under the stress of deep feelings or in their relation to one another. The work is, after all, a narrative of the actions of men and women. We have so far seen what kind of images are used by *Vālmiki* in his description of kings and princes in all their royal dignity and splendour. We have also seen that the same images recur also in the description of other things at their best. But persons and things do not always remain at their best. In a state of distress, they lose their former lustre and glory. Let us see what images are used by the poet in describing things in this state. It is only natural that in a story in which the fortunes of men and things change so frequently according to circumstances, there should be descriptions of them in their fallen state also. Indeed one is struck

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1. परिघायतबाहवः । R. III. 5. 16 ;
वृत्तौ करिकरोपमौ । R. V. 13. 18 ;
भुजाविन्द्रध्वजोपमौ । R. V. 10. 15.
 2. पञ्चशीर्षैरिवोरगैः । R. . 50. 8.
 3. ऊरुन् करिकरोपमान् । R. III. 25. 22 ;
कदलीकाण्डसदृशौ । R. III. 62. 4.
 4. ननाद विविधान् नादान् यथा प्रावृषि तोयदः । R. III. 18. 23 ;
दुन्दुभिस्वनम् । R. I. 16. 12 ;
सत्राष्पकलया वाचा कलहंसस्वरो युवा । R. I. 82. 10.
 5. तस्याः स्फटिकसंकाशं वारि संतापसंभवम् । R. II. 30. 24.
 6. दसशार्दूलविक्रमम् । R. I. 16. 12 ;
सिंहविक्रान्तगामिनम् । R. II. 92. 21 ;
वृषभश्रेष्ठविक्रमौ । R. IV. 3. 10.

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by the extraordinary variety of the things to which men and things in such a state are compared. Nor are these images scattered throughout the work. Sometimes, as in the description of Sītā in distress, a large number of them occur in the same passage, lending extraordinary force to the emotion which is meant to be conveyed. Such images are grouped together in the following paragraph for the reader's convenience. Such images are mostly found in the description of Sītā in her sorrow, either before or after her ravishment by Rāvaṇa. In such a state, we are told she looked like the Sun in eclipse,¹ or without its lustre, or the Moon in day-time,² or moonlight covered by clouds,³ or a fallen star,⁴ or a lotus-stalk soiled by mud,⁵ or a lotus-bed squashed,⁶ or a lotus without its stalk,⁷ or a lotus fading in the Sun,⁸ or a creeper without flowers,⁹ or the fallen branch of a tree,¹⁰ or a deer gone astray,¹¹ or deer followed by dogs,¹² or a Śārikā in a cage,¹³ or a female elephant separated from its mate,¹⁴ or a Cakravākī without its mate,¹⁵ or gold covered by dust,¹⁶ or a boat in the middle

1. अनन्या राघवेणाहं भास्करेण यथा प्रभा । R. V. 21. 15.
2. शुशुभे न विना रामं दिवा चन्द्र इवोदितः । R. III. 51. 22.
3. प्रभां नक्षत्रराजस्य कालमेघैरिवानृताम् । R. V. 15. 37.
4. क्षीणपुण्यां च्युतां भूमौ तारां निपतितामिव । R. V. 17. 20.
- 5-6. मृणाली पङ्कदिग्धेव । R. V. 17. 25 ;
पद्मिनीमिव विध्वस्ताम् । R. V. 19. 13.
7. न रराज विना रामं विनालमिव पङ्कजम् । R. III. 52. 18.
- 8-9. पद्ममातपसंतप्तम् । R. II. 104. 25 ;
लतामकुसुमामिव । R. V. 17. 25.
10. छिन्नां प्रपतितां भूमौ शाखामिव वनस्पतेः । R. V. 19. 5.
11. वने यूथपरिभ्रष्टा मृगी कोकैरिवार्दिता । R. V. 25. 5.
12. मृगयूथपरिभ्रष्टां मृगीं श्वभिरिवानृताम् । R. III. 55. 5.
13. पञ्जरस्थेव शारिका । R. V. 13. 13 ;
यूथपेन विना कृताम् ।
14. निःश्वसन्तीं सुदुःखार्तो गजराजवधूमिव । R. V. 19. 18.
15. सहचररहितेव चक्रवाकी । R. V. 16. 30.
16. काञ्चनं रजसा ध्वस्तम् । R. II. 104. 25.

of the ocean, buffeted by the winds,¹ or the altar soiled,² or an army with dead heroes,³ or Hope baffled,⁴ or Prosperity vanished,⁵ or Faith destroyed,⁶ or an Order disobeyed,⁷ or the Future imperilled,⁸ or Wisdom in decay,⁹ or Smṛti in doubt,¹⁰ or learning acquired on Pratipad.¹¹ Similarly, Ayodhyā without Rāma and Daśaratha, is like the sky without the Sun,¹² or the Moon or the stars,¹³ or like the sky covered by clouds,¹⁴ or the night without the Moon,¹⁵ or the ocean without water,¹⁶ or a river with little water,¹⁷ or like a sinking wave of the ocean,¹⁸ or a tank without flowers, or a cow deserted by the bull,¹⁹ or a cave without its lion, or a deserted tavern,²⁰ or a string of pearls without any precious stone in it,²¹ or a creeper fading under the

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1. वायुवेगैरिवाक्रान्तां मज्जन्तीं नावमर्णवे । R. III. 55. 4.
 2. वेदीमिव परामृष्टाम् । R. V. 19. 14.
 3. हतवीरां चमूमिव । R. V. 19. 13.
 - 4-5. आशां प्रतिहतामिव । R. V. 15. 33;
ऋद्धिं निपतितामिव । R. V. 15. 33.
 - 6-7. श्रद्धामिव विमानिताम् । R. V. 19. 11 ;
आशां प्रतिहतामिव । R. V. 19. 12.
 - 8-9. आयतीमिव विध्वस्ताम् । R. V. 19. 12 ;
प्रज्ञामिव परिक्षीणाम् । R. V. 19. 11.
 - 10-11. तां स्मृतीमिव संदिग्धाम् । R. V. 15. 34 ;
प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता । R. 59. 32.
 12. गतप्रभा द्यौरिव भास्करं विना । R. II. 66. 28.
 13. चन्द्रहीनमिवाकाशम् । R. II. 48. 18;
नष्टतारमिवाम्बरम् । R. II. 48. 35.
 14. प्रच्छन्नशशिनक्षत्रां द्यामिवाम्बुधैर्युताम् । R. II. 114. 13.
 15. निष्प्रभा त्वयि निष्क्रान्ते गतचन्द्रेव शर्वरी । R. II. 53. 29.
 - 16-17. तोयहीनसिवाणवम् । R. II. 48. 18;
अल्पोष्णक्षुब्धसलिलाम् । R. II. 114. 4.
 18. प्रशान्तमारुतोद्धूतां जलोर्मिमिव निःस्वनाम् । R. II. 114. 7.
 19. गोवृषेण परित्यक्तां गवां पत्नीमिवोत्सुकाम् । R. II. 114. 9.
 20. हतशौण्डामिव ध्वस्तां पानभूमिमसंस्कृताम् । R. II. 114. 4.
 21. वियुक्तां मणिभिर्जालैर्नवां मुक्तावलीमिव । R. II. 114. 10.

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fire.¹ Daśaratha in deep sorrow is like a Ṛṣi who had lied,² or fallen Yayāti, or a tank without water,³ or a snake without its power.⁴ Kaikeyī fallen on the floor in deep sorrow looked like creeper that has been cut, or a fallen goddess, or a fallen Kinnarī, or a fallen Apsaras, or Māyā gone astray, or a deer imprisoned, or a female elephant wounded by a hunter.⁵ Prostrate Rāma is like fire without lustre, or the setting Sun, or the Moon in eclipse.⁶ When wounded and covered with flood, he is like the sun surrounded by the evening clouds. Defeated Viśvāmitra looked like the ocean without its velocity, or a serpent with broken fangs, or the sun in eclipse or a bird without wings⁷. A kingdom without a king is like a river without water, forest without grass, cows without a keeper.⁸ A kingdom devoid of its wealth is like wine without fermentation. A kingdom enjoyed by another is like wine robbed of its essence, a sacrifice without Soma.⁹ An

1. द्रुतदावाग्निविप्लुष्टां क्लान्तां वनलतामिव । R. II 114. 12.
- 2-3. उक्तानृतमृषिं यथा । R. II. 18. 6 ;
तटाकमिव निस्तोयम् । R. II. 34. 3.
4. हततेजा यथा सर्पो बभूव जगतीपतिः । R. II. 12. 54.
5. लतामिव विनिष्कृतां पतितां देवतामिव ।
किन्नरीमिव निर्धूतां च्युतामप्सरसं यथा ॥
मायामिव परिभ्रष्टां हरिणीमिव संयताम् ।
करेणुमिव दिग्धेन विद्धां मृगयुना वने ।
R. II. 10. 24-26.
6. विलापोपरतं रामं गतार्चिषमिवानलम् । R. II. 53. 28;
भास्करोऽस्तमिव व्रजन् । R. 6. 49. 15 ;
परिपूर्णः शशी काले ग्रहेणोपप्लुतो यथा । R. II. 40. 30 ;
स विद्धः क्षतजैर्दिग्धः सर्वगात्रेषु राघवः ।
बभूव रामः सन्ध्याभ्रैर्दिवाकर इवावृतः ॥ R. III. 25. 15.
7. ससुद्र इव निर्वेगो भग्नदंष्ट्र इवोरगः ।
उपरक्त इवादित्यः सद्यो निष्प्रभतां गतः ॥
लूनपक्ष इव द्विजः । R. I. 55 9.
8. यथा ह्यनुदका नद्यो यथा वाप्यतृणं वनम् ।
अगोपाला यथा गावस्तथा राष्ट्रमराजकम् ॥ R. II. 67. 29.
9. राज्यं गतधनं साधो पीतमण्डां सुरामिव । R. II. 36. 12;
तथा ह्यात्मीमिदं राज्यं हृतसारां सुरामिव ।
नाभिमन्तुमलं रामो नष्टसोममिवाध्वरम् ॥ R. II. 61. 18.

army without generals is like a boat without oars. When it is in a state of depression, it is like a ship on the sea when there is no wind.¹ Vālin, lying on the floor after having been struck by Rāma looked like the sky without the Moon, or the Sun fallen on the earth at the end of a Yuga or Yayāti fallen on earth.² When struck by Sugrīva with a Sāla tree, he looked like an over crowded boat on the ocean.³ Bharata, lying on the floor in sorrow, on hearing of Rāma's exile, looked like the sun at the end of a Yuga.⁴ He and Śatrughna, prostrate, seemed to be two bulls with broken horns.⁵

On examining the above lists, one finds that the same images are sometimes used to characterize more than one thing in a fallen state, while others occur in the case of particular persons and things only. Thus, Sītā, Ayodhyā and Kausalyā, all look like a fallen star, in a state of lost glory. Sītā, without Rāma, and Ayodhyā without Rāma are both like an army with dead heroes. From this, can we draw the conclusion that all these images are interchangeable? Can we imagine Vālmīki saying that Sītā in distress is like a lake devoid of its snakes? This is said, in the Rāmāyaṇa, in connection with the palace without Rāma.⁶ It is found in the Mahābhārata also, where it is used to describe Duryodhana's tent.⁷ A palace and a tent are both places of residence and one can, therefore, understand why the image occurs in both cases. We are, perhaps, justified in declaring that Vālmīki would not have used the comparison in describing Sītā.

Mention has already been made in the preceding article of the occurrence of some of these images in the Mahābhārata. A few more might be mentioned here to indicate the similarity in spirit

1. सेवा भ्रमति संख्येषु हतकर्णेव नौर्जले । R. VI. 48. 26;
किमिव व्यथिता सेना मूढवातेव नौर्जले । R. VI. 50. 1.
2. नष्टचन्द्रमिव व्योम । R. IV. 17. 3;
आदित्यमिव कालेन युगान्ते भुवि पातितम् । R. IV. 17. 10;
ययातिमिव पुण्यान्ते देवलोकादिह च्युतम् । R. IV. 17. 9.
3. गुरुभारसमाक्रान्ता नौः ससार्थेव सागरे । R. IV. 16. 24.
4. ददर्श रामो दुर्दर्शं युगान्ते भास्करं यथा ।
5. धरायां स्म व्यचेष्टेतां भग्नशृङ्गाविवर्षभौ । R. II. 78. 20.
6. महाहृदमिवाक्षोभ्यं सुपर्णेन हृतोरगम् । R. II. 42. 25.
7. गतोत्सवं पुरमिव हृतनागमिव हृदम् । M. Bh. IX. 63. 5.

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of the two epics. Damayanti in distress is like a lotus-bed spoiled, or a lotus stalk pulled out, or a louts-bed smeared with mud or the full-moon night with the moon in eclipse, or the moon covered by black clouds, or the sun surrounded by smoke, or a dried up river.¹ Kārṇa's face in shame is like a lotus spoild by rain water, or fallen on the ground.² The army of the Kurus without Bhīṣma is like the sky without stars, or the sky without wind³. The Kāmyaka wood is like an empty wine jar, or a lake without snakes⁴.

The above images culled from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata incidentally tell us what were the attributes which in the popular imagination, were always associated with certain things and whose absence took away all glory and lustre from them. This invariable association is explicitly mentioned by the poet in some places. Sītā says, she would not deviate from Dharma, anymore than light can be separated from the moon.⁵ Rāma does not give up his cheerfulness as the autumn moon its lustre. He does not disregard his fathers' order as the moon does not abandon its lustre⁶. Sugrīva helping Rāma is as natural as that the moon should shed its lustre, or that the

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1. व्याकुलामिव पद्मिनीम् । M. Bh. III. 65. 20.
मृणालीमिव चोद्धृताम् । M. Bh. III. 65. 21.
मलपङ्कानुलिताङ्गीं प्रमलानां नलिनीमिव । M. Bh. III. 65. 18.
पौर्णमासीमिव निशां राहुग्रस्तनिशाकराम् । M. Bh. III. 65. 19.
चन्द्रलेखामिव नवां व्योम्नि नीलाभ्रसंवृताम् । M. Bh. III. 65. 22. .
निबद्धां धूमजालेन प्रभामिव विभावसोः । M. Bh. III. 65. 13.
कृशस्रोतां नदीमिव । M. Bh. III. 65. 19.
 2. वभौ वर्षाम्बुविक्लिन्नं पद्ममागलितं यथा । M. Bh. I. 146. 35.
 3. द्यौरिवापेतनक्षत्रा हीनं खमिव वायुना । M. Bh. VII. 1. 26.
 4. सरः सुपर्णेन हतोरगेन्द्रमराजकं राष्ट्रमिहेव शान्तम् ।
एवंविधं मे प्रतिभाति काम्यकं शौण्डैर्यथा पीतसुरश्च कुम्भः ॥
M. Bh. III. 270. 5.
 5. धर्माद्विचलितुं नाहमलं चन्द्रादिव प्रभा । R. II. 39. 28.
 6. नाजहात् पितुरादेशं शशी ज्योत्स्नामिवोदितः । R. II. 82. 6.

sun should make the sky bright or that Indra should give rain.¹ The indissoluble association of husband and wife is like that of Viñā and string, chariot and wheel.²

Closely allied to the description of how men and things looked in a state of faded lustre and greatness are pictures of what they do in sorrow. As shedding tears is the most common action of men and women in sorrow, it is often described. Kausalyā sheds tears as a canal brings fresh water³, tears from Sītā's eyes took like drops of water from a lotus.⁴ Sugrīva held in check a flood of tears which came to him like a flood in a river⁵. Rāma was choked with tears as the moon with snow.⁶ Tears of joy also sometimes enter into images as when we are told that Kausalyā will shed tears of joy as a line of clouds showers water.⁷ In sorrow, people not only weep, they also sometimes collapse. Daśaratha, Rāma and many others fall on the floor in their sorrow and the normal analogy is that of a tree that has been cut down.⁸ Of Śūrpaṇakhā, we are told that she fell like a thunder-bolt from the sky.⁹ In great sorrow, the heart breaks like the banks of a great river flooded in the

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1. यदिन्द्रो वर्षते वर्षे न तच्चित्रं भविष्यति ।
आदित्योऽसौ सहस्रांशुः कुर्याद्वितिमिरं नमः ॥
चन्द्रमा रजनीं कुर्यात् प्रमया सौम्य निर्मलाम् ।
त्वद्विधो वापि मित्राणां प्रीतिं कुर्यात् परंतप ॥ R. IV. 39. 2-4.
 2. नातन्त्री विद्यते वीणा नाचक्रो विद्यते रथः । R. II. 39. 28.
 3. कौसल्या व्यसृजद्वाष्पं प्रणालीव नवोदकम् । R. II. 62. 10.
 4. पुण्डरीकपलाशाभ्यां विप्रकीर्णमिवोदकम् । R. V. 33. 4.
 5. बाष्पवेगं तु सहसा नदीवेगमिवागतम् ।
धारयामास धैर्येण सुग्रीवो रामसन्निधौ ॥ R. IV. 8. 30.
 6. अभवद्वाष्पसंरुद्धो नीहारेणेव चन्द्रमाः । R. IV. 6. 6.
 7. मुदाश्रु मोक्ष्यसे क्षिप्रं मेघरेखेव वार्षिकी । R. II. 44. 27.
निकृत्तमिव सालस्य स्कन्धं परशुना वने । R. II. 72. 22.
 8. निपपातैव दुःखेन कृत्तमूल इव दुमः । R. II. 40. 36.
 9. पपात भूमौ गगनाद् यथाशनिः । R. III. 18. 25.

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rainy season.¹ To the wriggling motion of a snake on the ground is compared the wallowing on the ground of one in extreme agony.²

The Rāmāyaṇa contains more than mere exhibitions of sorrow. Battles occupy quite a large portion of the work with all their implications of courage and fear, anger and calm; fights take place in all Kāṇḍas, except perhaps in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, while the Yuddhakāṇḍa is full of them. Courage is the basis of all fights and those who possess it are compared usually to Indra and Viṣṇu³, who are famous for their *vīrya*, in the Vedas. More unusual and therefore interesting are comparisons with Yama and Vāyu for *vīrya*.⁴ If Indra and Viṣṇu are the models of courage, it is the deer which stands for fear. The followers of Khara run away like the deer terrified by the hunters.⁵ It is not merely cowards in battle who are compared to terror-stricken deer. When Sītā sees the cloth made of bark which she has to wear before going to the forest, she becomes terrified like a deer when it sees the net which is meant to catch it.⁶ If the deer is the type of the victim of fear, it is the snake which represents the cause of fear. People fear a liar as they do a snake.⁷ Rāma became terrified on seeing Daśaratha in distress as one does on touching a snake with the feet.⁸

Coming back to matters relating to war, an army is compared to an ocean when its size and density are to be emphasized and to masses of clouds when its messive, noisy character is to

1. प्रावृषीव महानद्या स्पृष्टकूलं नवाम्भसा । R. II. 21. 49;
अयमात्मभवः शोको मामनाथामचेतसम् ।
संसाधयति वेगेन यथाकूलं नदीरयः ॥ R. II. 64. 74-75.
2. हा नाथेति विनर्दन्ती सर्पवच्छेष्टसे क्षितौ । R. III. 21. 4.
3. यमशक्रसमो वीर्ये बृहस्पतिसमो मतौ । R. II. 1. 39;
अहो वीर्यमहो दाढर्ये विष्णोरिव हि दृश्यते । R. III. 30. 32.
4. पवनसमानविक्रमाः प्लवगवराः । R. IV. 63. 15.
5. द्रवन्ति स्म न तिष्ठन्ति व्याधत्रस्ता मृगा इव । R. III. 27. 20.
6. संप्रेक्ष्य वीरं संलस्ता पृषती वागुरामिव । R. II. 37. 9.
7. उद्विजन्ते यथा सर्पान्नरादनृतवादिनः । R. II. 109. 12;
8. रामोऽपि भयमापन्नः पदात् स्पृष्टेव पन्नगम् । R. II. 18. 4.

be brought out¹. Of such an army, bows and arrows are the chief weapons. The usual comparison of an arrow is with a snake, probably because of its long shape, its quick motion accompanied by its hissing noise and finally its fatal character.² In one passage, the common points mentioned are the sharp points and the joints (*rjuparvāṇah*). Sometimes the comparison is with a thunderbolt, or fire, or lightning, or noose of death, or the Sur.³ The spear is like Indra's banner, or the thunderbolt.⁴ Daggers are like serpents.⁵ Slaps and blows with fists are like thunderbolts⁶. When the fighters fall in battle, they fall usually like trees cut down or struck by lightning or like Indra's banner or like a mountain struck by thunderbolt⁷. *Śūrpaṇakhā* rushes at *Rāma* as *Rāhu* at the

1. महतीयमितः सेवा सागराभा प्रदृश्यते । R. II. 84. 2;
सागरौघनिभा सेना भरतस्य महात्मनः । R. II. 93. 4;
धृतनानाप्रहरणं गम्भीरं सागरोपमम् । R. III. 24. 32;
सागरौघनिभं भीमं तद्वानरखलं महत् । R. VI. 4. 39;
प्रावृट्काले यथा मेघा नर्दमानाः सविद्युतः । R. VI. 53. 12;
महीं सञ्छादयामास प्रावृषि द्यामिवाम्बुदः । R. II. 93. 4;
जीमूता इव घर्मान्ते सघोषाः संप्रतिस्थिरे । R. II. 92. 34.
2. शरानाशीविषोपमान् । R. III. 27. 13;
क्रुद्धानाशीविषानिव । R. III. 28. 4;
दीप्तान् क्षिपति नाराचान् सर्पानिव महाविषान् । R. III. 34. 7;
जीवितान्तकरैर्घोरैर्ज्वलद्भिरिव पन्नगैः ।
तीक्ष्णाग्रऋजुपर्वाणः सरोषा भुजगा इव ॥ R. IV. 5. 28.
3. विधूमा इव पावकाः । R. III. 26, 30;
चापस्य रूपं विद्युद्गणोपमम् । R. IV. 30. 74;
कालपाशोपमम् । R. III. 25. 17;
नाराचान् सूर्यसन्निभान् । R. III. 20. 18.
4. स विनद्य महानादं शूलं शक्रध्वजोपमम् । R. III. 3. 14.
5. खड्गावेते विरोजेते निर्मुक्तभुजगाविव । R. IV. 3. 19.
6. ततैरशानिकल्पैश्च । R. IV. 12. 18;
वज्रकल्पैश्च मुष्टिभिः । R. IV. 12. 18.
7. पपात सहसा भूमौ छिन्नमूल इव द्रुमः । R. VI. 58. 54;
पपात वज्राभिहतो यथाद्रिः । R. VI. 70. 28;
अपतदेवराजस्य मुक्तरश्मिरिव ध्वजः । R. IV. 17. 2.

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Moon.¹ When one rushes at another only to be destroyed, it is like a moth rushing at fire². Two mighty soldiers fighting with each other is like the clash of clouds, or like the meeting of a lion and an elephant, or like the battle between Vṛtra and Vāsava, or between Budha and Aṅgāraka³. It is clear from all this that the imagery of war, as all other imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa, is mainly derived from nature and mythology.

(To be continued.)

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1. अभ्यगच्छत् सुसंकुद्धा महोल्का रोहिणीमिव । R. III. 18, 17;
राममेवाभिदुद्राव राहुश्चन्द्रमसं यथा । R. III. 27. 20.
 2. आससादाथ ते रामं पतंग इव पावकम् । R. V. 42. 27.
 3. बभूव वातोद्धतयोर्मैघयोर्गगने यथा । R. III. 51. 2;
संबभूवातिबलिनोः सिंहकुञ्जरयोरिव । R. III. 27. 10;
वृत्रवासवयोरिव । R. IV. 16. 29;
गगने ग्रहयोर्वोरं बुधाङ्गारकयोरिव । R. IV. 12. 17.

GLIMPSES OF COCHIN HISTORY FROM LITERARY SOURCES (1342-1505).

BY

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No systematic attempt has yet been made to reconstruct the history of Cochin before the Portuguese advent and this period is treated practically as a blank. Earlier writers have contented themselves with merely referring to some traditions and ultimately characterising them as a 'farrago of legendary nonsense'. They could, indeed, have done more, but either because they did not care, or had not full access to the materials now available, they have not dealt with this portion of our history. More and more materials are being brought to light every day, thanks to the labours of the Archæological Departments of Cochin and Travancore and the Epigraphical departments of South India. There is thus within the easy reach of the student of history a large mass of materials, into which a historical discipline has yet to be introduced. No less important are the materials, lying scattered about in the numerous literary works, both Sanskrit and Malayālam, written by Malayālis, and no consideration seems yet to have been bestowed upon the materials available in these. One reason for this was the attitude taken by the earlier writers of local history who were inclined to attach any value only to foreign accounts. The latter may be valuable, but that does not mean that we should brush aside as absolutely untrustworthy all local materials : that, I believe is a wrong method. Leaving alone this subject for the time being, a study of the materials recently made available shows that the downfall of the active sovereignty of the Imperial Perumals was followed by the setting up of the feudal overlordship of the Perumpatappu Mūppil, i. e., of the Mahārāja of Cochin. This feudal overlordship of Cochin continued down to the times of the Portugueses.

1. *Vide* the writer's paper on the 'Three Kerala Eras' presented to the fourth All-India Oriental Conference at Allahabad and published

This period from 427 A. D. to 1500 A. D. may well be divided into two distinct periods ; the Cranganore period and the Cochin period. The former, running from 427-1342, is so called because at that time Cranganore was the capital, and the latter which runs from 1342-1500 so called because Cochin was then the capital. The immediate cause of the transfer of the capital from Cranganore to Cochin was the closing of the historic harbour at Cranganore and the throwing open of an excellent harbour at Cochin, as a result of heavy floods in the year 1342 A. D. Another reason also there might have been, I mean the depredations made by numerous feudal vassals who, headed by the Zamorin of Calicut, were trying to throw off the yoke of Cochin. Towards the close of the 14th century, the Zamorin grew rich and powerful and he was also able to get the help of king Krishnaraya¹ of Vijayanagar, or Anagundy, as our traditions would have it. The whole of the fourteenth century appears to have witnessed a big tussle between the Emperor of Kerala and the king of Calicut, which continued down to the times of the Portuguese, and ultimately led to the overthrow of the feudal overlordship. The history of the royal family of Cochin during the Cranganore and Cochin periods is completely wrapped up in mystery and any light that may be available deserves to be utilised. It is proposed here to collect the references available in literary works which may throw some sparks of light on this dark period.

The works that constitute the basis of the present study are chiefly two Prabandhams of Nilakanṭha, a protege of a Vīrākerala Varmā, King of Cochin, named the *Tenkailāsanāthodayam* and the *Rājaraṭnāvaliyam*, and two dramas, the *Ratnaketūdayam* and the *Rāmavarmavilāsam*, written by a poet, called Bālakavi, a protege of Rāma Varmā, a King of Cochin. We shall, to begin with, briefly notice these works.

in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. I Part II From his *Malabar and the Portuguese* it will be seen that Mr K. M. Panikkar seems to be bent upon glorifying Calicut and Travancore rest of superseding history—indeed something that is inexcusable in one who presumes to be a student of history. A glimpse of the true historical position of Cochin will be available from that paper.

1. He may be identified with Bukka II ; Ferishta mentions a Krishna Raya during this period.

The Tenkailāsanāthodayam belongs to that category of Malayāḷam literature, called Prabandham, which has achieved considerable distinction and which occupies a high position amongst us. It is written by a poet, called Nīlakaṇṭha, who from his own admission is the author of two more works, Cellūrnāthodayam and Nārāyaṇīyam, as seen from the following verse:—

Vidyāvallabha Nīlakaṇṭha sukaveś Cellūrnāthodayam
Citram pāṇḍu kṛtam punaśca racitam Nārāyaṇīyam
tvayā |
Adyaivārabhatām girā mama bhavān Tenkailānā-
thodayam
Pratyagrākhyakalarnnabandhuraguṇam bandhum pra-
bandhottamam ||

If any value may be attached to the theories advanced in the voluminous introduction to the Rāmāyaṇaprabandham, published in the Śrī Mūlam Malayāḷam series, No. 15, to this author may also be assigned Rāmāyaṇaprabandham, Bhārata-prabandham, Nārāyaṇīyam, Rājaratnāvalīyam, etc., but the theories advanced have no pretence to any finality and we do not subscribe to the same. Coming to the works that are definitely known to be Nīlakaṇṭha's, Cellūrnāthodayam deals with the Pratiṣṭhā of the Śiva shrine at Peruñcellūr, Taliparamba. It yields so far as we now know, no historical information except a reference to a Śatasoma whom the author also connects with the Cochin Royal family, in his Tenkailāsanāthodayam. The Nārāyaṇīyam deals with the Pratiṣṭhā of the temple at Tṛppūṇittura. The work has been so called not because of the name of the author, as assumed by others, but on account of the fact that the lord enshrined there is called Śrī Nārāyaṇa. From this work we get the information that the area around Tṛppūṇittura is also known as Ravi-nāṭu which a piece of information so far unknown and which shows that the term "*Ravimediniṇpati*" may also be interpreted to mean the '*Lord of Ravi Country*.' The third work, Tenkailāsanāthodayam, describes the Pratiṣṭhā of the Trichur temple, and it refers to the construction of the three Śrī Koils, the Maṇḍapam, the shrines of Lambodara and Ayyappan, the pathway around the mighty walls enclosing the spacious Matilakam, the setting apart of a place for a flower garden probably identical with the present area called Pallittamam, the assignment of houses near by to Pisharotis to serve in the temple, the founding of twenty-two Nampūtiri houses around

the temple, to safeguard the proper religious discharge of the divine service and last, but not least, the grand celebration of the final purificatory Kalaśam ceremony and the institution of the Śivarātri Viḷakku in commemoration of the same, a celebration which obtains even to-day. These are, indeed, very important details regarding temple history.

We have, indeed, no authentic information regarding the author and his age. He appears to have hailed from Perumcel-lūr and later attached himself to the court of King Vīra Kerala Varmā of Cochin. In the Introduction to the Rāmāyaṇapra-bandham we have already referred to, Dr. K. S. Menon identifies this author with Punam, that famous Malayāḷi poet, whom a persistent tradition connects with the brilliant court of Vikrama of Calicut which was graced by a distinguished array of poets and scholars. This identification is based on a tradition which has not found all-round acceptance. The date of the author is another bone of contention; for, while some assign him to the 15th century, others assign him to the close of the 16th century on the basis of what they take as a Kalivācakam, we mean the concluding words '*Prapathe tat pṛthivyām*' which when worked out, gives the date 7th Meḍam 774 M. E. i.e., April, 1599 A. C. The nature of the words and their position at the very close of the work and the practice obtaining of not mentioning any term denoting time, till after the time of Bhaṭṭatiri may be adduced in support of their contention. But for a *prima facie* reason, this phrase cannot be accepted as a cryptogram. For according to our author, the king at his time was Vīra Kerala Varmā, the successor of Goda Varmā while according to other available sources, the king at this period, i. e., at about 1599 A. C. was Ravi Varmā, successor of Rāma Varmā, and the predecessor of a Vīra Kerala Varmā. We have no reason to think that the latter sources are wrong both as regards names and dates of the kings of this period. It will thus be seen that the age of the author is not beyond doubt and in the light of the little evidence now available we feel we are justified in accepting the tradition which assigns our author to the 15th century.

Rājaratnāvalīyam is looked upon as one of the most perfect gems in the whole range of Malayāḷam literature. The authorship of this work is assigned to the famous Punam Nampūtiri by one school and to Maḷamaṅgalam by another school; but Dr.

K. S. Menon in his Introduction already referred to, would assign to our Nilakaṇṭha all the famous Prabandhams.¹ Without subscribing to any of these views so categorically stated, we do, accept the tradition which assigns the author to the 15th century, a view which is supported by internal evidence also. This poem deals with the marriage of King Rāma Varmā with Mandāramālā of Trichur. Incidentally the work gives us some glimpses of the general nature of the period. The two dramas we have mentioned are the works of a Bālakavi, a protege of King Rāma Varmā. Of these works, the one known as Rāmavarmavilāsam describes the king as going to Benares after abdicating in favour of Goda Varmā, his brother and successor. The age of this author also is uncertain.

It will be seen from what has been said that the sources on which the present study is based, have not their ages fixed with any degree of certainty by students of literary history. But this fact need not invalidate them as source books for history. For it is possible to fix their ages with some amount of certainty in the light of other known facts of history. Now we shall proceed to notice the historical information available in these.

In the introductory portion of his Tenkailāsanāthodayam, Nilakaṇṭha gives a list of eight kings and has prefaced the same with a description of the city of Cochin. The earliest 'Kings of Cochin,' according to this author, are Rāma Varmās. They were succeeded by a Goda Varmā, and his successors were in order Ravi Varmā, Vīra Kerala Varmā, Rāma Varmā, Goda Varmā and Vīra Kerala Varmā, the patron of Nilakaṇṭha. Our author gives brief notices of four only of these kings and they are the last four. Of these the first is Vīra Kerala Varmā whom he describes as a great warrior and a generous patron of letters. Long he guided the destinies of the kingdom. He had many enemies to overcome, and these he successfully overcame. It was probably this king who built the present magnificent

¹ The Introduction deals with a number of interesting topics but they are not treated in the way which we are led to expect from a scholar of his position. He has simply given all that he knows without any attempt at introducing a scientific discipline into the matter and as such, much of his theorisings do not commend themselves to the student either of literature or of history. It is a pity that the learned editor should not have utilised his opportunity to better purposes to critically examine many of the topics dealt with in that Introduction.

temple at Trichur as a votive offering to beget an issue. He had no successor for a long time, and it was only late in his life that the royal family was blessed with an issue. Consequently his successor, king Rāma Varmā, ascended the throne early in his life. Thanks to the wise counsel of his ministers and the active co-operation of his brothers he crushed his enemies, and these, indeed, were not few, and consolidated his kingdom. After restoring peace and order, and after reigning for long he left for Benares, accompanied by his brother Goda Varmā, but, alas for the kingdom, the king died at Benares while his brother who succeeded him lived only to come back to his kingdom. Goda Varmā was succeeded by Vīra Kerala Varmā, the patron of our poet. It is curious to point out that the poet calls his patron '*Kurubhūmibhartā*,' a title which he does not apply to anybody else. The descriptions show that the city of Cochin has risen to some amount of importance on account of her commercial activity, but it is significant to point out that there is no reference to the Portuguese. From the time of the earlier Vīra Kerala Varmā onwards, these kings had to do a lot of fighting and success seems to have generally crowned their arms. It will be seen that the king who patronised Nilakaṇṭha was on a military campaign, when he stops for a day at Trichur to make his obeisance to the Lord enshrined there, and it was then that he ordered the poet to write the work.

From the Rājaratnāvalīyam, we find that the king Rāma Varmā was born late in the life of his predecessor, Vīra Kerala Varmā, and he consequently ascended the throne early in his life. Like his predecessors, he also found that the throne was no bed of roses, and he had to undertake a series of campaigns against the refractory chiefs in, and the enemies of, the kingdom. Thanks, however, to the wise counsels of his ministers and the active co-operation of his brothers, success uniformly crowned his arms and he was able to restore peace and order and consequently bring prosperity to the kingdom. The city of Cochin had already risen to importance and she was carrying on a busy trade, but as before there is no reference to the Portuguese. Similarly, Trichur also appears to have risen to some amount of importance during this period.

The general nature of the description shows that the Rāma Varmā who is the hero of Rājaratnāvalīyam may be identified with the third Rāma Varmā in Nilakaṇṭha's list. For the name

of the predecessor and the general nature of the king and the kingdom show that they can well be identified.

The two dramas of Bālakavi the protege of King Rāma Varmā, are Ratnaketūdayam and Rāmavarmavilāsam. The first of these works the author wrote at the instance of the king, while in the second he traces the fortunes of the king after he abdicated in favour of his brother Goda Varmā, as stated in the prologue to the drama. This must generally be a very interesting work, but unfortunately the only copy of the work available is in the G. O. M. L. Madras and it is very much worn out and the present writer had only a cursory view of the same. Consequently any views that may now be set forth must necessarily be tentative. It appears that this Rāma Varmā and his successor Goda Varmā may not be identified with the kings of the same name occurring in Nilakaṇṭha's list and that for the simple reason that no Rāma Varmā is described there as having abdicated in favour of his successor. It may be contended that this was a general practice and as such it need not be categorically stated. But even accepting this position for the sake of argument, we cannot identify these kings with the kings of the same name in Nilakaṇṭha's list, for more reasons than one. In the first place we know that a regular stream of scholars from the east coast began to flow into the land only after the time of Uddaṇḍa, the premier poet of the court of Vikrama of Calicut of the early 15th century, and we shall not be wrong if, therefore, we do not connect these kings with the second and third kings, all the more so because Cochin could not so soon have risen to the position which the poet's description shows she has reached. We cannot again identify them with the sixth and the seventh kings for the reason that Nilakaṇṭha describes Rāma Varmā going to Benares accompanied by Goda Varmā and not after abdicating in favour of Goda Varmā. Nor can this Rāma Varmā and Goda Varmā be identified with the kings of the same name of the Portuguese and the post-Portuguese periods, for there is no recorded evidence of any abdication after the arrival of the Portuguese. We are, therefore, forced to come to the conclusion that these two kings may be put down to a period immediately preceding the Portuguese. And we are tempted to identify this Goda Varmā with the Goda Varmā who welcomed the Portuguese.

Coming to the period of the kings in the list of Nilakaṇṭha, we have to fall back upon mere inference. There are now available

more than one list for the chornogloy of the kings of the Portuguese period and after, and of these the one published in the State Grantha-vari seems to be the accepted list. And this list does not agree with Nilakaṇṭha's list. The former list is given below for easy reference :—

GRANTHAVARI-LIST.

Rāma Varmā	... (D. 1505)
Goda Varmā	... (D. 1537)
Vīra Kerala Varmā	... (D. 1561)
Goda Varmā	... (D. 1565)
Unknown (Rāma Varmā) ¹	... (D. 1565)
Unknown (Ravi Varmā) ¹	... (D. 1601)
Vīra Kerala Varmā	... (D. 1615)
Ravi Varmā	... (D. 1624)
Vīra Kerala Varmā	... (D. 1635)
Goda Varmā	... (D. 1645)
Unknown (Vīra Ārya Varmā)	... (D. 1646)
Vīra Rāyira Varmā	... (D. 1650)

It will be seen from the above that our poet's list does not agree with this list. Evidently then we have a *prima facie* reason for putting back Nilakaṇṭha's list to the pre-Portuguese period. The earliest date for these kings cannot be earlier than 1342 A. C. and the latest not later than 1500 A. C. From the nature of the enumeration of the various kings we believe it is only a legitimate piece of inference to hold that Nilakaṇṭha is giving us a regular succession list which covers the major part of this period. We have no reason to hold that Nilakaṇṭha is wrong, for he is a Malayāḷi by birth, attached to the king's court and the period covered is not long enough. Secondly, our poet is not indulging in any poetic conceits, but only making a matter-of-fact statement as the quotations will bear out. Further the average number of kings for the period agrees with the average for the subsequent periods. We, therefore, hold that the poet is giving us the correct succession list of the kings of Cochin for the period beginning from the year 1342 A. C. till the middle of the XV century, a period which we may characterise as the Cochin period. As we have already shown, the two kings mentioned in Rājaratnāvaliyam may be identified with the sixth and

1. Identified by the writer both from inscriptions and literature.

the seventh kings of Nīlakaṇṭha, and so this need not be taken as adding to the number of the kings for the period. On the other hand, the two kings of the dramatist have to be assigned to the period after the patron of Nīlakaṇṭha, with or without an interregnum. The name of another king during this period has been found in the Urakam inscription which refers to a Nārāyaṇa Iravi Varman, *i. e.* Nārāyaṇa Ravi Varmā of the Elaya Tavalī of the Perūmpatappu Svarūpam.¹ From the Kalivācaka and the mention of the Cochin Era, he constructed some part of a temple in 1460 A. C. If he may be identified as a king and not merely as a prince, as probably he must be, it will be clear that Nīlakaṇṭha's patron must have lived sometime before 1460 A. C. Thus it will be seen from what has been said that they may be assumed to have existed eight kings for the first century of the Cochin Period, one king for the Middle and two kings for the closing decades, of the XV century.

This takes us to the end of the present study. We have been able to find out names of the kings who graced the ancient throne of Perumpatappu Svarūpam during the period immediately preceding the Portuguese arrival. The kings had not an idle time of it, but had often to wage bloody wars, while thanks to her increasing trade, the city of Cochin steadily rose into great importance; the town of Trichur was growing up into importance, more due to its strategical position for military operations. It is also clear that the kings of this period were known as *Maṭakṣilipati* and *Kurubhūmibhartā*, of which, the latter title, it seems, fell into disuse before long. For the present we conclude with setting forth in a tabulated form for easy reference the list of the kings reconstructed from out of the literary works we have noticed:

The list of the Kings of Cochin for the period 1342—1505 A. C.

Rāma Varmā	..	Founded the city of Cochin; transferred the head-quarters from Cranganore to Cochin; described as a very virtuous king, valiant and brave.
Rāma Varmā	..	Continued the work of his predecessor: valiant and virtuous as before.
Godā Varmā	..	A very learned prince.
Ravi Varmā	..	A very valourous king.

1. *Vide* Annual Report on Archaeological Researches, For 1924—25 Cochin state.

- Vīra Kerala Varmā.. A successful general and generous patron of letters; probably the builder of the temple of Trichur; reigned for long; had a successor only late in life.
- Rāma Varmā .. The youngest of the kings to ascend the throne; a scholar and warrior and the winner of many victories; a patron of letters; identical with the hero of Rājaratnāvalīyam; went to Benares accompanied by his brother Goda Varmā and died there.
- Goda Varmā .. A great warrior helping his brother; went to Benares with his brother; died soon after his return.
- Vīra Kerala Varmā.. The patron of Nīlakaṇṭha; a great warrior and a generous patron of letters; styled also *Kurubhūmibhartā*.
- Ravi Varmā .. Reconstructs the temple as seen from the Urakam epigraph dated 1460 A. C.; had the surname Nārāyaṇan, a most unique surname not found connected with any other king of Cochin.
- Rāma Varmā .. The patron of Bālakavi; the hero of Rāma Varmavilāsam; abdicated in favour of his brother Goda Varmā.
- Goda Varmā .. Probably identical with the king who welcomed the Portuguese; if so, abdicated in favour of Rāma Varmā in 1505.

ŚAKA-PALLAVAS IN INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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(Continued from page 31, Vol. IV, J. O. R. M.)

CHAPTER III.

PALLAVA DOMINION IN NORTHERN INDIA.

Bactrian Greeks of the house of Euthydemus conquered Northern India, c. 200, B. C. Eukratides usurped the throne of Bactria c. 175 B. C. and acquired also the Kābul valley, Ariāna (Arachosia and Aria) and North West India before 162 B. C. Several Yavana princes ruled over Indian provinces, in the upper Kābul valley, with Kāpiśi as capital, the lower Kābul valley or western Gāndhāra, with Puṣkalāvati as capital, Eastern Gāndhāra, with Takṣaśilā as capital, and the Panjab valley with Sagala (Siālkot) as capital from 203 B. C. to about 40 B. C.

These Yavanas are called *duṣṭa vikrāntāḥ*, 'viciously valiant', in the *Gārgī saṁhitā*. The Śaka-Pallavas supplanted the rule of these Yavanas gradually in the 1 century B. C. The dates assigned to the Yavanas and the Pallavas who displaced them are entirely a matter of guess, not even based on slender strands of evidence but merely adjusted to *a priori* assumptions with regard to other unconnected events, such as, who founded the Śaka era etc. These Pallavas copied the coins of the Yavana kings whom they overthrew and from these a few facts about them can be deduced.

i. In Eastern Irān.

Onona was one of the first Pallavas to acquire Yavana territory. His name is distinctly Pallava, but the names of his brothers, Śpalahora and Śpalariśa and his brother's sons, Śpalagadama and Aza, as Rapson points out, look like Śaka ones. Hence the division of dynasties into Śaka and Pallava is a distinction without difference. A peculiarity of the coins of this dynasty is that on the obverse the name of the Mahārāja is mentioned and on the reverse that of a junior, probably a Yuvarāja.

Thus the obverse of a coin of Onona has in Greek characters *Basileos Basileon Megalos Ononos*, and the figure of Hercules standing, and the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī *Mahārājabhrātā dhrami-kasa śpalahorasa*, and Athena standing.¹ Another has on the obverse the figure of a 'King on horseback holding lance to right' and the inscription in Greek characters *Basileos Basileon Megalos Ononos* and on the reverse the figure of 'Zeus, facing holding thunderbolt in right and long sceptre in left hand' and the inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters, *śpalahoraṣṭrasa dhramiasa śpalagadamasa*.² These coins "are found in the country around Kandahār and Ghazni, the ancient Arachosia and in Seistān, the ancient Drangīāna."³ The title *Basileos Basileon*, 'King of kings', assumed by Onona, shows that he was an independent monarch and was not subordinate at all to the Parthian Emperors. Apparently this prince wrested Arachosia from the hands of its Yavanarāja and struck coins in imitation of theirs. Onona was succeeded by Śpaliriśa and he by Aya.

ii. In Gāndhāra.

Perhaps at the same time as Onona, Moga ruled at Puṣkalāvati and Takṣāśilā. His coins were copied from those of his Greek predecessors. He used the title *Basileos Basileon Megalon Māhārāja, Rājātirāja Mahata*; the coins of Moga are found in the Punjab and the North-west province, and those of his successor in the districts between the Indus and the Jamnā. Hence Sir John Marshall boldly says of Aya that, "though little is known" of him, "there can be no doubt that his reign was a long and prosperous one, and it is probable that he was responsible for extending and consolidating the Śaka power throughout North-west India as far as the banks of the Jamnā"⁴. We may take it that Aya at least quenched the Yavana power in the Punjab. An inscription has been discovered at Takṣāśilā dated the year 136 *Ayasa*⁵. Some scholars have pounced upon this, invented the equation $136 \text{ Ayasa} = 78 \text{ A.D.}$ and have concluded that Aya founded the Vikrama-samvat era of 58 B.C. Apparently any stick will do to beat down the Indian tradition that Vikramāditya of Mālava founded the era to commemorate the

1. *Camb-Hist. of India*, p. 589.

2. Rapson. *Ind. Coins*, I, 15.

3. Rapson. *Ind. Coins*, p. 8.

4. *A guide to Taxila*, p. 13.

5. J. R. A. S. 1914, pp. 973 ff.—Ep. Ind. XIV, pp. 285 ff.

defeat of the Śakas. 78 of Moga and 136 of Aya and 103 of Guḍuphara (to be presently discussed) may refer to one era or more ; but there is no possible basis for interpreting them as Samvat dates and using them for fixing the dates of the early Pallava Mahārājas.

iii. *Kṣatrapas in Northern India.*

Besides these *Mahākṣatrapas*, there ruled petty princes who called themselves *Kṣatrapas* and *Mahākṣatrapas*, and whose names have been recovered from inscriptions. Some of them copied the inscriptions on Greek coins without understanding them. The Taxila plate found in the ruins Sir Sukh, not far from Takkasilā records the deposition of a relic of Sokamuni (Śākya-muni) and the erection of a Saṅghārāma for the worship of all Buddhas at Cema N. E. of Takkasilā. The donor is Pātika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, Chatrava of Chahara and Cuksa. We know nothing about Cahara. Indeed Bhagawān Lāl Indrāji suggested the reading *Chohavata*, instead of Cahara, which would make Liaka a member of the Khaharāta clan which ruled over Surāṣṭra, and Buhler regarded the emendation as "not absolutely impossible." Of Cuksa, we know nothing but Buhler says it "possibly might be read Cuskha ; I would point out its close resemblance to the curious Sanskrit *Coska*, which according to the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* means 'a horse from the districts on the Indus.' Might not *Coska*, like *Saindhava*, 'a horse from Sindh', be a purely territorial name denoting some particular district on the Indus, and a variant of *Cuksha* or *Cuskha* ? If that were so, it would follow that Liaka governed the Eastern Panjab as far as the Indus."¹ This is extremely ingenious but can scarcely be regarded as history. Yet Sir John Marshall, on the strength of this ingenious guess worded with characteristic caution by Buhler, has indulged in the fantasy that "in the administration he [*i.e.* Aya] adopted the old Persian system of government by Satrapies, which had long been established in the Panjab and this same system was continued by his successors, Azilises and Azes II, whose local satraps at Taxila Mathurā [*Note.* Liaka-Kusulaka Pātika, Rājāvula, Śoḍasa], were also of the Śaka race and connected with one another by close family ties."² Rapson makes a similar statement. "The Śakas continued in North-western India the system of government by Satraps which was firmly

1. , *Ep. Ind.* IV, pp. 56-57.

2. *A guide to Taxila*, p. 13.

established there during the long period of Persian rule.”¹ Notwithstanding the confident tone of these assertions, there is no truth in them. First of all we do not know what was the length of the “long period” of Persian rule in India. No doubt Dāryavush includes in his Satrapies “India”, *i. e.*, “from the embouchement of the Indus to its uppermost tributaries on the North and West.”² On the defeat of Kurush (Xerxes) by the Greeks, Persian power declined and Indian kings recovered independence. The presence of Indian mercenaries in the army of Dāryavush III, when he fought with Alexander at Arbela (330 B. C.) does not at all prove that Persian domination over India continued upto that date, for if so, Alexander need not have prepared for the invasion of India for 3 years after that date. The numerous kings whom Alexander had to threaten, cajole or fight with, till he got his victory which proved more disastrous than a defeat, were all Indian Rājas who had enjoyed independence for a century at least before Alexander’s invasion. So there was plenty of time to forget the system of “government by satrapies”, instituted by Dāryavush. The well-knit empire of early Mauryas could allow no room for this system, and the word does not appear in Aśoka’s inscriptions, though he employed “a Yavana (Pallava) Rājā, of the name of Tuṣāspha as viceroy,” according to the testimony of Rudradāmā, himself a *Mahākṣatrapa*. The Yavana *rājas* that succeeded the Mauryas were mostly a crowd of petty princelings who were constantly fighting with each other; hence there was no necessity for “government by satrapies in their districts. Lastly if Aya and his successor Ayiliṣa ruled at Takkasilā, it is difficult to see why they required “local satraps” at their very capital. Verily the reconstruction of history from coins is a rope woven out of sand!

iv. Guḍuphara.

The greatest Pallava ruler of North-western India was Guḍuphara (Gōndapharnes.) “From the wide range of the localities from which his coins have been freely obtained, it is manifest that Guḍuphara—(Gondopharnes) was the powerful ruler of an extensive territory”³ which comprised Arachosia, Gāndhāra and Panjāb. In some of his coins he took the title of

1. *Ancient India*, p. 141.
2. *Camb. Hist. of India*, i. p. 337.
3. *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 236.

Mahārāja rājarāja dharmia devavrata and "they bear the figures of Śiva facing, with right hand extended and holding a trident with left",¹ showing that he was a Śaiva. This inscription at Takht-i-Bahai, N. E. of Peshawar contains a double figure 26/103 ; 26 evidently refers to the 26th year of his reign, and 103 seems to be like 78 Mogasa of the Pātika plate and 136 Ayasa of the Takkasilā inscription, all three being inexplicable so far as our present knowledge goes. But some scholars have assumed it to be the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., though there is nothing to render it probable that the remote ruler of Arachosia would use an era begun in Mālva and restricted to Central India for several hundred years. The motive behind this assumption is that it lends probability to a legend recorded in a Syriac book—the *Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle* written most likely in the III cent. A. D. It says that the evangelization of India fell by lot to St. Thomas who was unwilling to go to India ; then Jesus sold him to Habbān, an Indian merchant, sent by King Gūdnaphar to search for a carpenter. Gūdnaphar ordered St. Thomas to build a palace ; but as so many do in legends, he spent the money on acts of charity. To enable "the historical setting" to become "chronologically possible", 103 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription has been explained as 103 of the Mālava era. R. D. Banerji from palaeographical considerations refers 103 to the Śaka era², which is equally unsuitable. Sometime after the death of Guḍuphara, Pallava power in North India was destroyed by the Kuṣāṇas.

When the Yavana Rājas were ruling in Afghanistan they came fully under the influence of the Mahāyāna form of the Bauddha cult. Bauddha monks travelled beyond to Persia, Syria and thence to the remote ends of Europe where Bauddha figures and symbols have been unearthed recently. The Yavana pines of Arachosia and Gāndhāra employed artists from Greece to embody Bauddha images in plastic form. Thus arose what has been called Graeco-Indian art, Greek in form and Indian in content. When the Pallavas succeeded the Yavanas, Indian spirit began to modify this foreign art. At first Indian decorative features found their way into constructions on the Greek models ; but "Hellenistic elements in them were still in complete preponderance over the Oriental. Thus the ornamentations of

1. J. R. A. S. 1903, p. 285 (Rapson).

2. Ind. Ant. 1908, pp. 47, and 62.

the Stūpas of this period were primarily based on the 'Corinthaian' order, modified by the addition of Indian motifs, while the only temples that have yet been unearthed are characterised by the presence of Ionic columns and classical mouldings".¹ In the stūpa of the time of Aya, the brackets over the capital and the toraṇas and arched niches in the interspaces between the pilasters are purely Indian.²

v. *Kṣatrapas of Mathurā.*

A race of Kṣatrapa rājas, called by archaeologists 'the line of Northern Kṣatrapas' ruled at Mathurā. Unlike the kings dealt with in the previous sections, these Kṣatrapas succeeded Hindu rājas; for their coins "generally are related as regards both types and fabrics to those of Pāñcāla (Śuṅgas) and those of the Hindu princes of Mathurā."³ "Some of the coins of Rāmadatta [a Hindu Rāja of Mathurā] seem to be undoubtedly earlier [than the coins of the Kṣatrapa Rājas of the same place], as they have for the reverse the incuse square which characterises the coins of Pāñcāla. The coins of Balabhūti [of the II cent. B. C.] are also connected with those of Bahasatimitra [of Kauśāmbhī] by identity of type...and by their epigraphy. These considerations would seem to show that some at least of the Hindu princes preceded the Śaka Satraps, who imitated their coins,"⁴ when they succeed them. These Kṣatrapas are known from the following inscriptions:—

(1) The Mathurā Lion-capital inscriptions. They are in Kharoṣṭhī and eighteen in number. This capital was discovered by Bhagavān Lāl Indrājī, "embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śītālā [the goddess of small-pox] on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindus at Mathurā."⁵ This monument is "of local red sandstone, and represents two lions reclining back to back and facing in the same direction. The capital must originally have surmounted a pillar."⁶ It must have supported

1. *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 28-49,

2. *Ib.* plate XII. Thus under the Pallavas Indian art began to shake off the Hellenistic influence, so foreign to the Indian genius, which had been imposed on it by the Yavana rājas.

3. Rapson's, *Ind. Coins*, p. 9.

4. *Ib.* p. 13.

5. *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 125.

6. *Camb. Hist. of India*, i. p. 575.

a *Dharma cakra*, below which the donor deposited a relic of *Bhagravata Śakamunī Buddha*. The chief inscription records "a religious donation on the part of [Nandaśī Akaśā], the chief queen of the Satrap Rājūla (no doubt the same as the Rājubula of the coins) with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court."¹ In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of Śudasa catrava (Śoḍasa of the coins), and also Mahachatrava Kusūlaka Pādika, Catrava Mevaki Miyika and Catrava Khardaa. "It appears, therefore, that the inscription makes a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kṣatrapa dominion in Northern India"² especially as one of the last inscriptions runs *sarvasa sakrastanasya puyae*, 'for the honour of all Śakasthāna.'³

(2) A stone-slab inscription (*śilāpaṭṭa*) found at Mora, five miles W. of Mathurā, by Cunningham. It mentions the son of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula.⁴

(3) A stone-slab (Jaina) inscription found in the Kankālī Tilā at Mathurā by Fuhrer dated in the reign of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍasa. It mentions the year 72 of an unspecified era.⁵

(4) A stone slab inscription found in the jail mound at Mathurā, recording gifts by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śegrava gotra, treasurer (*gañjavara*)⁶ of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śomḍasa, of a tank (*puṣkaraṇi*), a reservoir (*udapāna*), a pillar (*stambha*), and on the inscribed slab (*śilāpaṭṭa*).⁷

(5) The Sārnāth inscription on a Bodhisattva statue discovered by F. Oertel as a result of the excavations of 1904-5. They are dated in the third year of Kaniṣka and mention the Kṣatrapa Vanaspara and Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna.⁸

These Kṣatrapas absorbed completely the culture of the Hindu princes whom they succeeded. The Mora inscription

1. *Ep. Ind.* IX. p. 138.

2. *Ib.* p. 139.

3. For the whole of the inscriptions, *Vide. Ep. Ind.* IX. pp. 135-147.

4. Luder's list, *Ep. Ind.* X. App. No. 14.

5. *Ep. Ind.* II. p. 139, IX. p. 243, Luder's list, No. 59.

6. From Persian *gañjwar*, also used in later works, *Vide Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V. 177.

7. *Ep. Ind.* IX. p. 247.

8. *Ep. Ind.* VII. pp. 173-9.

refers to *pañcavīrānām pratimā*, images of the five heroes, probably the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Near the place where the inscription was found, two torsoes of male images have been recently recovered, "carved in the round, a peculiarity only found in the sculptures of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods."¹

It is noteworthy that these relics of Kṣatrapa rule include monuments of each of the three Hindu cults prevalent in the age, the Vaidika, the Bauddha, and the Jaina; they were not cults opposed to one another, but as much component factors of ancient Indian culture, as to-day the Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva, and Śākta cults are, rival forms of worship and spiritual culture, but not necessarily inimical to each other. The same monarch could and did patronize more than one cult at the same time, because the out-look on life behind the cults was the same, notwithstanding the difference in the legends associated with them and the technical terms of philosophy and cosmology.

Under the rule of these Kṣatrapas rose the famous school of Mathurā art, the culmination of whose development was under Kanīṣka and his successors, and which flourished till 600 A. D. The chief specimen of the Kṣatrapa period so far discovered is the famous Lion-capital. It is a perfect specimen of early Indian art. Very soon the influence of the Yavana art of Gāndhāra was felt, and as the aims of Indian art and of Greek art are so utterly different, Mathurā art was "deadened by its embrace."² This phase of Mathurā art is exemplified by the Jaina *āyāgaṇa* or votive tablet dedicated by a courtesan named Loṇaśobhikā and the *torāṇa* arch reproduced in Pl. XXIV 65, 66, of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I; also the votive tablet of Āmohini in the reign of Śoḍasa.³

The rule of the Kṣatrapas in Mathurā was supplanted by Kanīṣka, when this great Turuṣka monarch established himself in Gāndhāra and extended his sway as far east as Benares.

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1. *Arch. Sur of India*, 1911-12, p. 127.
 2. *Camb. Hist. of India*, ii. p. 633.
 3. *Ep. Ind.* II. p. 199.

CHAPTER IV.

ŚAKA KŚATRAPAS OF WESTERN INDIA.

i. *The Khaharāta clan.*

Members of the clan of Khaharāta were the first Śaka rulers of this part of India. They issued coins with the 'arrow, discus and thunderbolt, the lion-capital and the *dharma-cakra*', which, according to Rapson, "may, perhaps, have been the distinctive badge of the Khaharātas."¹ A Khaharāta and possibly a Kṣatrapa of the name of Ghaṭaka is mentioned in an incomplete inscription found at Gaṇeṣra, 3 miles west of Mathurā; nothing more is known of him.² Another early Khaharāta Kṣatrapa, Bhūmaka by name, is known from copper coins, found according to Bhagavān Lāl Indrājī, in the coasting regions of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ and also sometimes in Mālava."⁶

The best known Rājā of this clan is one who bore the decidedly Parthian name of Nahapāna. F. W. Thomas derives the name from *naha*, 'people' and *pāna*, 'protecting' or *pañāh*, 'protection.'⁴ In the *paṭṭāvalī* of the Jainas of the *Sarasvatī Gaccha* 18th *Gāthā* which gives a reliable and consistent chronology,⁵ reconcileable with the chronological date of the Purāṇas and of the Buddhist traditions, critically considered,⁶ Nahapāna⁷ is said to have resigned for 40 years, beginning with the 413th year after Mahāvīras *nirvāṇa*, i. e., from 115 to 75 B. C. Palaeographical considerations confirm this date. Nahapāna's successor according to the Jaina *paṭṭāvalī* was Gardhabhīla who reigned for 13 years and was succeeded by a Śaka, who ruled for 4 years. The above three Śaka kings are described as patrons

1. *Cat. Ind. Coins*, p. cvii.

2. *Arch. Sur. of India*, 1911-13, p. 123.

3. Rapson. *Cat. Ind. Coins &c.* p. cvii.

4. J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 211.

5. *Ind. Ant.* II p. 360, XX. pp. 341-361.

6. J. B. O. R. S. 1918, pp. 101-104 (K. P. Jayaswal).

7. The name occurs as Nahavāna; it degenerates into Naravāka or Naravahana in Jinasena's *Hari Vamśa*, VII. cent. A. D.

of the Jaina monks in the Jaina work, *Kālikācārya-Kathā*, which says that the last king Śaka was overthrown by Vikramāditya, who then established himself at Ujjayinī and founded the era of 58 B. C.¹

Albērūnī records the tradition of his time (XI cent. A. D.), that Vikramāditya killed Śaka "in the regions of Karūr, between Mūltān and the region of Lonī."² There is no valid reason to discredit this tradition; yet several scholars have decided that it is a myth, merely because the name Vikrama is associated with the era only from the IX cent. A. D. and between V and IX centuries A. D. it was called the Mālava era—rather poor reasons to disbelieve the tradition; for in the case of most Indian eras, the foundation of none of which was formally proclaimed, the specific name of the era was attached to it long after its institution, when alone the necessity of naming the era arose, to prevent the tradition of its origin from being forgotten.

When Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas, some of them retired to the region at the mouth of the Indus, but the Khaharāta clan seems to have survived the defeat at the hands of Vikramāditya; for Śātakani Gotamiputra, who lived probably a hundred and fifty years later is claimed to have rooted out the Khaharāta *vamśa* and destroyed the Śaka-Yavana-Pallavas;³ this is no doubt a very exaggerated claim; for the Śaka-Pallavas of Caṣṭana's dynasty not only flourished during the period, but gradually squeezed the Sātakanis out of western India. Some scholars have wrongly taken this boast to mean that Gotamiputra defeated Nahapāna and extinguished his power.

Fleet dallied with the notion that Nahapāna started the Śaka era. On the strength of that idea he identified him with one Mambaros, King of Barygaza mentioned in the *Periplus*. This identification is reminiscent of Fluellen's comparison of Henry V with Alexander. The initial M may have come from some copyist's confusion of M and N; the second M came from the confusion of M and H; and the second M exerted phonetic influence on P and changed it to B.⁴ He does not say how the

1. Peterson. *Third Report on Sansk. Mss.* p. 32.

2. *India*. tr. Sachau, p. 6. Fleet says that Karūr seems to be the 'Kahror, Karrur' of maps, about 20 miles north-east of Bahāwalpur." J. R. A. S. p. 1913, p. 989, n. 1.

3. *Ep. Ind.* VIII. p. 60.

4. J. R. A. S. 1913, p. 1343 n. 2.

penultimate N became R. This derivation does credit to Fleet's ingenuity but does not add to historical knowledge.

Nahapāna struck silver coins, which, according to Rapson, were imitated from those of Yavana rājas as regards size, weight and fabric. These coins bear Greek, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends, in all of which Nahapāna is called Rājā and never Kṣatrapa. These coins have as their obverse type 'head of a King,' mistaken by numismatists as the head of Nahapāna himself or Augustus, but probably not intended for a portrait.¹

Nahapāna is best known from the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Uṣavadata, found at Nāsik and Kārli and of his minister, Ayama, at Junnār. In these inscriptions he is called Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa. The inscriptions of Uṣavadata are interesting because they prove the practical identity of the Śakas and the Pallavas. He calls himself a Śaka, whereas his father-in-law, Nahapāna, was certainly a Pallava.² Though he was a Śaka, his name Uṣavadata is purely Hindu, being the Prākṛt form of Ṛṣabhadatta. This shows that he was accommodated as a Kṣatriya in the Hindu social scheme. He gave three lacs of cows and money to Brāhmaṇas on the banks of the Baranasa, sixteen villages to the Vedic gods (enshrined, no doubt, in temples), and to Brāhmaṇas, fed one lac of Brāhmaṇas all the year round, gave eight wives to Brāhmaṇas, *i.e.*, paid the cost of marriage of eight Brāhmaṇa Brahmacārins, built quadrangular rest-houses, made wells and tanks and gardens, established free ferries or boats across several rivers, erected on their banks shelters for meeting,³ arranged for the gratuitous distribution of water to thirsty travellers in institutions corresponding to the 'water-pandals' of South India, gave thirty-two thousands of cocoanut-trees to the Brāhmaṇa ascetics of the Caraka denomination for building huts, made cave cisterns for other (Jaina and Bauddha) monks, and, after bathing in the Pokṣara tank, gave away three thousand cows and a village. He also gave a field costing four thousand Kahāpaṇas for feeding all monks, without distinction dwelling in his

1. *Cat. Ind. Coins etc.*, pp. cviii-cx.

2. Or. as Rapson puts it loosely a Persian. *Cat. Ind. Coins, etc.* p. civ.

3. These halls, where were held congregations for religious purposes, were built on the banks of rivers, so that the Brāhmaṇas could bathe in the stream and perform their religious offices while their bodies were unpolluted,

cave.¹ It will be noticed that all the three sects that prevailed in India at the time were recipients of Uṣavadata's patronage and this proves that they lived amicably together, being all different but not violently opposed sects based on different aspects of the one complicated whole of Hindu philosophy. It also shows that all the three cults were equally popular, and that India was not all Buddhist in that age, as is but too readily assumed by some historians. Uṣavadata's donations also prove the utter falsity of V. A. Smith's phrase, describing Gautamīputra as "the champion of the Hindu religions, including both Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism as against the creeds of casteless foreigners, Śakas, Pahlavas, and others";² The Śakas and Pallavas, instead of being casteless, were Kṣatriyas and their creeds were the same as those of the Hindus, of whom they formed a part.

The above were not the whole of Uṣavadata's benefactions. He bestowed another cave on the Saṅgha "of any sect and any origin", and a perpetual endowment of 3,000 *Kahāpaṇas* "for cloth money and money for outside life (*Kuśana*)" for ascetics. This amount was invested as follows:—2,000 in a weaver's gild (*srēni kolika nikāya*), interest one *paḍika* monthly for the hundred; and 1,000 in another weaver's gild, interest three quarters of a *paḍika* monthly for the hundred; and these *Kahāpaṇas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand—2,000—at one *paḍika* per cent. for cloth-money; out of them to everyone of the twenty monks, who keep the *Vassa* (*cāturmāsya*) in my cave, a cloth-money of twelve (*Kahāpaṇas*). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three-quarters of a *paḍika* per cent. out of them the money for *Kuśana*." Uṣavadata gave away besides 8,000 stems of cocoa-nut-trees; and he endowed the blessed gods (*Bhagavatam devanam*) and Brāhmaṇas 70,000 *Kahāpaṇas*, each thirty-five making a *Suvarṇa*, a capital, therefore, of 2,000 *Surṇas*; the gifts were, according to custom, proclaimed in the Town-Hall (*nigama sabhā*) and registered in the Public Records Office (*nibhada palakavara*).³

We learn from this inscription (1) The table of money current in the period; and also that though gold coinage existed, the popular coin was the silver *Kahāpaṇa*.

1. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, pp. 78-79.
2. *Early Hist. of India*, iv edn., p. 221.
3. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 82-83.

(2) Gilds of weavers and others served as Banks. This arrangement for banking existed even in the days of Gautama Buddha.

(3) Uṣavadata had such confidence in the permanence of these gilds, that he thought that even though governing powers might change, the gilds would be permanent ; hence he invested perpetual endowments in them.

(4) The formality of proclaiming and registering endowments, coming down, as it does, from old times, shows that the Śaka-Pallavas, though foreigners in origin, had become so thoroughly Hinduized as to adopt the Āryan polity evolved in Northern India from the age of the Ṛṣis.

(5) The establishment of Śaka-Pallava rule did not mean any noticeable discontinuity of public administration. The modern popular adage, 'what does it matter if Rāma rules or if Rāvaṇa rules?', so long as the life of the common man is not disturbed, seems to have inspired the minds of people even then; dynasties might change but the continuity of administration was kept up, and there was no catastrophic change in national life when the rule of one dynasty succeeded another, except a recall and restriking of the current coins.

The foreign trade of Surāṣṭra and Mālava, famous from prehistoric times, flourished during the rule of the Khaharātas. One little fact of palaeography throws light on this. On Nahapāna's coins occurs the letter H with the value *h*, in the Greek legend *Rannio Zaharatas Nahapanas*, which is an attempt to transliterate into Greek the Indian *Rajño Khaharatasa Nahapanaśa*. The use of Greek in the coins was due to the necessities of commerce, the Yavanas being the intermediaries of the commerce of India with the West, before the direct trade with the Rome was opened. And "the letter H with the value *h* disappeared from the Greek alphabets at a very early time,—according to Taylor, before B.C. 359... But it was taken into the Italic alphabets, apparently during the period B. C. 153 to 54. It is, therefore, only under some Roman influence that the letter can have been introduced with that value, into the otherwise Greek legends of coins in India."¹ This is enough evidence that there was intimate commercial intercourse between Nahapāna's

1. J. F. Fleet in J. R. A. S. 1907. p. 1042. referring to Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*.

kingdom and the West. The Śakas who controlled Sindh also encouraged trade. Says the *Periplus* (70 A. D.), "Barbaricum was the chief port of Sindh, and "subject to Parthian [Pallava] princes who are constantly driving each other out and whose capital was Minnagara."¹ The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis, by the river to the king. There are imported into the market-place, a great deal of their clothing and a little spurious figured linen, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine." All this import was not for local consumption; for "on the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton clothes, silk yarn and indigo,"

(To be continued.)

1. *Ib. tr. Scoff.*, 39.

KUI WORDS AND DRAVIDIAN ORIGINS.

BY

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The recently published Grammar of Kui written by Rev. Winfield (*Bibliotheca Indica series*) provides rich word-lists which would enable us to attempt an analysis of the peculiarities of Kui bases and word-formation and compare them with non-Kui Dravidian features. I propose to study in this paper if, in the course of such a comparative examination of the forms, it would be possible for us to indicate the operation of any common phonetic principles regulating the peculiarities of Kui word-formation. Incidentally, this discussion may also shed some light on the classification of Kui among the Dravidian dialects.

In connection with my article on Brāhūi *r*-verbs (pages 57-64 of J. O. R. Vol. IV), the following points may be alluded to here :—

(a) The appearance of final *n* in the bases of these *r*-verbs is a peculiarly Brāhūi phenomenon. A few other Brāhūi bases show alternating *r* and *n* in the Infinitives themselves, just as *hun-* (to see) among the *r*-verbs dialectally alternates with *hur-* even in the Infinitive. These are *mann-* and *mar-* (to obey), *ton-* and *tor-* (to hold), *hatin-* and *hatar-* (to bring). The origin of *-n* which appears uniformly in the Infinitives of these verbs may in some way be connected with *-r*. The process of change may have been a kind of assimilation whereby the influence of the nasal of the Infinitive ending *-ing* converted *-r* into *-n* in these *r*-verbs. Assimilation "*durch Fernwirkung*" operates usually among closely connected sounds, according to authorities like Brugmann and Jespersen, and here it is possible that an old-*r* may have easily changed to *-n* in the Infinitives etc. of these *r*-verbs.

(b) There are a number of extra-Dravidian parallels for these Brāhūi bases :—

- (1) *ann* : Elamitic *en* (to be).
- (2) *mann* : Austric *men* ; Lat. *man* ; Nubian *men*.
- (3) *bann* : Elamitic *pari* (to come) : Uralic *bar* (to come).
- (4) *kann* : Indo-Aryan *kr* ; Uralic *kar*, etc.

[A.] GENERAL FEATURES.

(1) Many radical verb-bases are one-syllabled, as in the rest of Dravidian. In determining the radical bases we have of course to eliminate not only the enunciative vowels (which appear in Kui as in other Dravidian dialects) but also the formative and derivative suffixes :—

aḍ (to join); cf. Sn. base *aḍ*—; Gōṇḍi *aḍ*; Kurukh *aḍḍa*.

ḍas (to measure); cf. Sn. *tag*—and its numerous derivatives; Brāhūi *dagh-ing* (to measure).

iṭ (to put); cf. Sn. *iḍ*—

ka(mb) (to be burned): common Dr. *kāy*.

kōg (to be small): *ku*, *-ko*—denote the idea of smallness in a number of words in Dr. dialects.

mās (to make a mistake): common Dr. bases *may*, *māy* (to be changed).

ōj (to burst): cf. Sn. *oḍ-e* (to burst); Br. *Koṭing* (to break); Gōṇḍi *vōr* (to burst).

tij (to turn back): cf. Sn. *tir*; Kurukh and Br. *kir* (to turn); Gōṇḍi *tirit*—.

It will be observed that in many instances, the bases are closed with consonants. It is probable that these consonantal particles are themselves the vestiges of ancient formatives.

It may also be noted here that the enunciative vowel represented in Winfield's book by the symbol *a* has the value [e] or [u] of the I. P. A. script.

While enunciative vowels are absent in Brāhūi and Kurukh, they appear in central and South Dravidian dialects (Kannaḍa *u*, *e*; Tamil *u*; Telugu *u*; Gōṇḍi *a*; Malayāḷam *ə*; Tuḷu *u*). The

(5) *tin*: I E *da*: Mitanni *tan* (to give), etc.

(6) *can*: I A *jan* (to know); Uralic *tani*, *sani* (to know).

(7) *pan*: I E *bhan* (to speak); Austric *ba* (to speak), etc.

Some of these correspondences are indeed striking; but by themselves they do not afford scientific justification for certain strained theories that have been propounded about Dravidian origins. The chief value of these striking parallels for the Dravidist, at any rate for the present, lies in the caution that they enjoin on him in his discussions of Brāhūi forms. Brāhūi is surrounded by such a large number of non-Dravidian tongues that contamination and cross influence may have operated considerably in modifying what originally were pure Dravidian bases.

absence of these enunciative vowels in Brāhūi and Kurukh need not necessarily point to an ancient stage, as it is possible that the enunciatives which they possessed in common with the rest of Dravidian may have been dropped under the influence of the neighbouring Modern Indo-Aryan or Indian Austric, in both of which families the *halanta* or consonantal *Auslaut* is the rule.

(2) Formative, derivative and reinforcing suffixes are quite common, as in the rest of Dravidian:—

- (a) *mb*: *kāmba* (to be burned).
grāmba (to learn): cf. Sn. *katku* (to learn); Gōṇḍi *karit* - (to learn).
ēmba (to move aside): cf. Sn. *ay* (to move); *ey* (to shoot); Gōṇḍi *ambu*; Kurukh *amba* (to set free).
jumba (to suck): cf. Gōṇḍi *sūḥu* (suck) etc.
- (b) *ṇḍ* or *nd*: *kānda* (to be hot): common Dr. base *kāy*.
rīnda (to be stable): cf. Sn. *ir*; Kur. *irta*, etc.
rōnda (to slip through).
kōṇḍa (to be curly): common Dr. base *ku-*, appearing in Tam. *śuruḥu* (to be curled), etc.
- (c) *ñj*: *grēñja* (to cry): cf. Sn. *kar-ai*; Gōṇḍi *kilit* (to cry).
ḍuñja (to try): cf. Sn. *tuni* (to venture); Gōṇḍi *tun* (to be possible).
kriñja (to dream): cf. Gōṇḍi *kundranā* (to sleep); Kurukh *kungna* (to slumber).
lāñja (to sprinkle): (?) is this the resultant of aphaeresis and accent-shift operating on *taḷi* (to sprinkle)?
muñja (to sink): cf. Sn. *muṅgu*; Kurukh *mulukh*.
muñja (to smell): cf. Sn. *mūkku* (nose); common Dr. base *mu*—(above, forward, before).
neñja (to be full): cf. Sn. *niṛai*; Gōṇḍi *nind*; Kurukh *nind* (to be filled).
pāñja (to fly): cf. Sn. *para* (to fly); Kurukh *parrr*; Br. *parra*.

The formative suffix (*ñj*) is derivative in Dravidian and is traceable to (i) an original *y* (off-glide) as in *añja* (to fear), etc., or (ii) an older suffix *ñg* which has become palatalised as in *pañja* (to divide) from *paṅgu*; or (iii) the development of an older *r* as in *niñja* (to fill).

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For (i) the following analogies may be given :—Tam. *kuñju* < *kuy*; *mañju* < *may*, etc.

The following would illustrate the palatalisation of (*ñ*)*g* to (*ñ*)*j* :—Tamil *iñge* (here) and *iñje*; Mal. *taṅgu* (to remain) and *lañju* (to remain).

Tuḷu furnishes interesting parallels for (iii) :—*maje* (to forget—cf. Tam. *mar-*); *kaje* (stain—cf. *kar-*); *taje* (to pierce—cf. Tam. *tarai*); etc.

(d) -*g* or -*ṅ* : *glōṅga* (to be muddy) : cf. Sn. *kol-ai-*, etc.

kāg (to warm oneself) : Dr. base *kāy*.

lāṅga (to be changeable) : cf. Sn. *el-agn*.

mūga (to be finished) : cf. Sn. *mug-*; Kur. *muñj* (to end) ; Br. *mucat* (end).

paṅga (to be split) : cf. Sn. *pagu*; Kurukh *pak*.

reṅga (to be broken) ; cf. Sn. *oḍ-* (to be broken); Br. *koṭ* (to break).

truṅga (to be pierced) : cf. Sn. *tir-a*, *tur-a*; Gōṇḍi *tar-*; Kurukh *tur*, *tar*, etc.

vriṅga (to burst into pieces) : cf. Sn. *vir-i*, *pir-i*; Kurukh *bird* (to break through).

The following peculiarities in the use of - *k* may be noted:—

(a) What in Southern Dr. appears as a reinforcing - *k* (not incorporated in the bases of all tense-forms) has become permanently assimilated with the base in Kui e. g. *niska* (to stand—cf. Sn. *nil-ku*, *nit-ku*).

(b) The older formative—*k* as a part of the base also exists in Kui, as in South Dravidian :—*peska* (to pick); *aska* (to cut).

(c) Kui appears to have used - *k* in some instances where South Dr. shows no *k*, e. g. *kiska* (to pinch—cf. Tam. *killu*).

(d) Kui appears to have lost the use of—*k* as a reinforcing affix (as in Tamil *era-kku* (to beg), etc., but on the other hand employs for this purpose—*v* or -*p*; (compare Tuḷu *māl-ṭu*, *paṇbu*, etc.) as in the following instances, e. g., *meh-ṭa* (to see); *tōs-ṭa* (to show); *āṛ-ṭa* (to cry out); *rū-va* (to plough); *ja-ṭa* (to beg).

(3) Two-syllabled and poly-syllabled nouns in Kui are really compounds or the developments of ancient compounds:—

paḍa (name) : cf. Sn. *pey-ar*, *pes-ar*, *pes-ar*, *pud-ar*; Kurukh *piñj* (to name); Br. *pin* (name).

*nākurī*¹ (dog): cf. Sn. *nāy*; Gōṇḍi *nai* (dog).

*kabari*² (work): cf. Kann. *gelasu* (work); Br. *giras* (work).

bargi (command); cf. Sn. *pēy*, *pēs* (to speak); Kurukh *vēs* (to command), *bā* (to be called), etc.

prāṅga (rice): cf. Sn. *pori* (fried rice); note the accent-shift which has caused the disappearance of the vowel of the first syllable and altered and lengthened the vowel in the second syllable.

kāṇḍru (tears) < *kaṇḍru* < *kaṇidru* < *kaṇ* + *nīr*: cf. Sn. *kaṇṇīru* (tears); cf. Gōṇḍi *kaṇēr* (tears); 'water' in Kui is *ēju* or *Sidru* both of which go back to the Dr. *basi īr* (wetness) from which *nīr* (water) has also arisen.

*kōeri*³ (harvest): cf. *koy* (to reap).

[B.] INITIAL SOUNDS OF KUI.

(a) Vowels in initial positions (Anlaut) exist as in the rest of Dravidian:—

aṭ (to join).

iṭ (to place).

ag (to fit): cf. Tam. *ag-am* (room, enclosure).

ēṇ (to receive): cf. Tam. *eḍ* (to take); Br. base *ēt* (to take); Gōṇḍi *yet* (to take).

in (to say): cf. Sn. *in*; Kurukh *an*.

uṇ (to drink): cf. Sn. *uṇ*; Kurukh *uṇ*; Gōṇḍi *uṇḍ*; Br. *kun*.

āv (to become): Sn. *āg* (to become); Gōṇḍi *ai* in *aiānā* (to become) Br. adjectival ending *ā*; Kurukh noun-suffix *abo*.

(b) Secondary consonantal sounds have been developed in Kui in connection with the initial vowels:—

(1) *kuri* appears as an affix for domesticated animals; is the affix *kuri* allied to *kur* (small) *kuṭṭi* (young one)?

(2) the three forms given here are probably related to Dravidian *kei* (to do); the final *-as* of the Brāhūi word may have been the result of foreign influence.

(3) *kōeri* is apparently a compound of *koy* (to reap) and *eri* (to cut).

(i) The prothetic front glide *y* appearing characteristically before original palatal initial vowels has developed into *s* or *j* in a few instances:—

jamba (to rest) : cf. Sn. *ir*.

jelka (to pull) : cf. Sn. *il*.

seṅga (to climb) : cf. Sn. *ēr*; Kurukh *arg* (to climb).

sēlu (wisdom) : cf. Tam. *eṇ* (to think).

jaṇa (to beg) : cf. Sn. *er-a* (to beg).

jāṇa (to descend) : cf. Sn. *īr*—(to descend).

Compare the change of *y > y > s* or *j* in the following dialects:—

Tuḷu : *jāne* (what—cf. Sn. *(y)ēn*; *jēru* (who—cf. *yāru*).

Gōṇḍi *sēlar* (younger people—cf. Sn. *il-ayavar*).

(ii) No Kui words, so far as the lists¹ available enable us to see, show any *new* development of the dorsal glide *v > v* or *b*, as we find in Gōṇḍi *vōr* (to break—cf. *oḍ-ai*).

(c) Initial *b* of words in Kui corresponds to (i) *v* or (ii) *ḥ* of other dialects:—

(i) *benda* (to incite) : cf. Sn. *vēḷ*; Kur. *bend*.

bēgali (other, different) : cf. Sn. *vēr* (to be separate)

bis (hunger) : cf. the Sn. base *vai* related to Tam. *pasi*, Mal. *payi*, Kurukh *pac*—all these forms signifying 'hunger.'

bandi (belly) : cf. Tuḷu *bañji* (belly); Kann. *basir*; Tam. *vayir*.

bāga (because of) < *vāga* < (*v*) *āga* < *āga*.

(ii) *brada* (to spread) : cf. Sn. base *par-attu*—

bruṅga (to be plucked) : cf. Sn. base *piḍ*—

brūva (to burst) : cf. Sn. base *poḍ*—

Prof. Jules Bloch is inclined² to question the view whether initially there were surd sounds at all in common Dravidian. His position seems to be that, because we find in Kannaḍa Brāhūi, Kurukh, Tuḷu and Telugu a number of instances with

1. Vide my paper on "The Linguistic History of Dravidian words."

2. Vide his *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (B. S. L. Vol. 24).

initial sonant plosives it is possible that common Dravidian had only these sonants initially; which afterwards in Tamil and other dialects may have changed into the surds. Caldwell's observation that the initial sonant plosives of certain Sanskrit loan-words are changed into surd plosives in certain colloquial dialects of Tamil, appears to have been responsible for creating this doubt. Without being dogmatic in any way about this question, we might call attention to the following facts which would tend to probabilise the view that surds were original :—

(i) A host of forms with initial surds are common to Dravidian generally.

(ii) The accent in Dravidian falls on the root-syllables,—a feature presumably characteristic of Dr. from the earliest times. The likelihood of voiced sounds having been tolerated in ancient Dravidian in the face of this accent is considerably reduced; for in Dravidian, as in some other languages¹ also there is reason to think that the influence of accent had generally the effect of maintaining the surd character of sounds.²

(d) Initial *d*—of Kui corresponds to (i) *t* of other dialects, and (ii) in a very few instances derived from *j*—(*vide supra*)—

darja (to multiply): cf. Sn. *tēr* (to grow).

dāsa (to measure): cf. *tag*, etc.

dahpa (to seek): cf. Sn. *tēḍ* (to search).

daḥa (to open): cf. Sn. *tira* (to open); Kurukh *tur*.

(e) Initial *ḍ* (i) represents *d*—in a few cases, and (ii) appears as the result of a peculiar accent-shift with aphaeresis in Kui.—

(i) *ḍēṅga* (to hang): cf. Sn. *toṅgu*; Kurukh *ṭaṅg*.

ḍiṅga (to burst into flame): cf. Sn. *tī* (fire), etc.

(ii) *ḍiga* (to touch), cf. Sn. *tod* (to touch).

ḍehka (to carry on the shoulder): cf. Sn. *eḍu-kku*
(note aphaeresis).

1. R. Ganthiot: *Une Variation de la loi de Verner* (M. S. L. Vol. XI).

2. See my paper on *Inter-Vocal Plosives and Accentual Influence* in "Indian Antiquary", July, 1929.

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ḍiḥpa (to set down); cf. Sn. *iḍ*—(to place, etc.).

ḍōpa (to lie down): cf. Dr. base *kiḍ*—(to lie down, etc.) common in the South; Kurukh *kid* (to lay down).

Accent-shift accompanied by Aphaeresis and lengthening of the following vowel is common in Telugu Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi.
(*vide infra*)

(d) Initial *g* of Kui in almost all instances corresponds to *k* of common Dravidian :—

gamba (to increase), cf. Tuḷu *gēnd*; Mal. *kayaṛu*
kēru (to ascend)

glōṅga (to be muddy); cf. Tam. *kolai*

grēṅga (to moon)

grōṅga (to crouch): cf. Sn. *kurūṅgu* (to become short); Kurukh *kurring*; Br. *kūring* (to roll up)

grīpa (to burn the dead): cf. Sn. *kar-i* (to burn), connected with the Dr. base *kāy*

guhpa (to swallow): cf. Sn. *kuḍi* (to drink)

(e) Initial *j* is either (i) from the prothetic initial glide *y* (*vide supra*) or (ii) *s*

(ii) *jūmba* (to suck): cf. Gōṇḍi *suṣa*

(f) Initial *k* is retained in Kui :—

kara (to be hot)

garsa (to dry, to knead)

kala (to cut)

kasa (to bite) cf. Sn. *kaḍi* (to bite)

kerga (to shake): cf. Sn. *kol-ai*, *kol-e* (to shake)

koḍa (to buy): cf. Tam. *koḍu* (to give)

(g) Initial *l* is due to accent-shift :—

laṅga (to be changeable): cf. Sn. bases *ol-*, *el-*, etc. which mean *to be moved*, etc.

laṅga (to sprinkle): cf. Sn. *taḷi* (to sprinkle)?

lēnga (to be broken): cf. Sn. base *oḍ-*

lohpa (to abide): cf. Sn. bases *ul-*, *il-*

(h) Initial *m-* (i) represents common Dr. *m-*,

(ii) appears in a few rare instances as the development of *b-*.

(i) *maja* (to become changed): cf. *mar-*, *mar-muska* (to smell): cf. Tamil *mū-kku* (nose)

(ii) *midde* (child)- cf. Tel. *bidḍa*; Tam. *pill-ai mas* (to burn): cf. common Dr. base *vay* (to be hot, etc.)

(i) Initial *n-*, *p-*, *t-* represent Common Dravidian sounds:—
neñja (to be full); cf. Sn. *niṛ-(ai)*; Gōṇḍi *nind*, Kurukh *nind*

nēñja (to breathe); cf. Tam. *nañju*

ninga (to rise); cf. Tamil *nil*

nisa (to stand still) cf. Sn. *nil* (to stand)

peska (to pick up); Sn. *piṛa-kku*, *peru-ku*; Gōṇḍi *peska*; Kur. *peska*; Br. *birring*, *bining* (to separate)

piñja (to rebound; cf. common Dr. base *pi-* (back, behind) appearing in numerous forms like *pin*, *pir*, *pir-i*, etc.

poṅga (to be spilt) cf. Sn. *po-ṅgu* (to rise): Kurukh *poṅg-*

pōṅga (to be noised abroad) do

por(pa) (to put on an upper cloth): cf. Sn. *pōr-vai*

ta(pa) (to bring): common Dr. base *tæ*

ter- (to wind): cf. Sn. *tir*; Gōṇḍi *tirit?* Kurukh *terem* (to turn around)

tōs (to show): cf. Sn. *tōru*, *tōndru*; Gōṇḍi *tōs*

tis (to feed): cf. Sn. *tī-tiru*, *tin*, etc.

(j) Initial *r-* occurring in Kui native forms is the result of accent-shift and Aphaeresis, accompanied by the lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable:—

rāga (to be worn away) cf. Sn. *or-(ai)*

rēsa (to rub) do

rānga (to be broken): cf. Sn. *oḍ-ai*

rīnda (to settle down): Sn. base *ir-*

rūga (to dissolve): Sn. *ūr*, *ur*

rūmba (to roar): Sn. *urumu*

rūta (to set light to): Sn. *eri* (to burn); Kann. *uri* (to burn)

rūha (to feel off): Sn. *uri* (to strip off)

(k) Kui initial *s* is from (i) initial prothetic glide *y*; (ii) common Dr. *ś*, *c* (which are either from ancient *k* or *t*)

For (i) see above

(ii) *semba* (to be sweet): cf. Sn. *tēn* (sweet), *tēn* (honey); Kurnkh *tinna* (to be sweet)

sēpa (to sweep): cf. Sn. *śēr*, etc.

suñja (to sleep): cf. Sn. *tū-ñgu* (to sleep); Kurukh *tuñg*

sūpa (to spit); cf. Sn. *tup-*; Gōṇḍi *tup*; Kurukh *tup*

sūra (to see) cf. Tuḷu *tu*, *su*, *hu* (to see); etc.

sūta (to point with the finger): cf. Sn. *śūṇḍu*

sāppa (to kill) cf. Sn. *sā*, etc.; Gōṇḍi *sāi*; Kurukh *khē*;

Br. *kā*

sespa (to plane): cf. Sn. *tēy* (to rub off)

sik- (to scorch with fire): cf. Sn. *tī*, etc.

(l) *v-* in Kui is ancient and remains unchanged.

vah (to fry): cf. Dr. base *va-* (heat, etc.)

ves (to speak): cf. Sn. *pēs*, etc.

vā (to come): common Dr. *bā*, *vā*.

ven (to hear): cf. Sn. *vin-*, etc.

(n) Initial consonant groups form a peculiarity¹ in Kui, which is the result of the shifting of the accent from the first to the second syllable:—

br, pr:— *brāḍa* (to be scattered): cf. Sn. *para-*

prūnga (to be broken off): cf. Sn. *pid-uṅgu* (to snatch)

1. The postulate tentatively made by Prof. Bloch (I A, 1908) that ancient Dravidian may have, like Old Indo-Aryan, possessed consonant groups, was based on the single instance of *dramiḍa* mentioned in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Prof. Bloch suggests this as the ancient protoform of modern *tamiḷ*. As the evidence adduced is too frail, and as even here it is possible to regard *dramiḍa* as the Sanskritised form of *tamiḷ*, the suggestion that ancient Dr. may have had initial consonant groups remains unproved.

- pl:*— *pliṅga* (to split): cf. Sn. *paḷ-ir* (to split) *poḷi*, etc.
plaṅga (to be a cover): cf. Sn. *pala-gai*
- gl, gr*
kl, kr } :—*glōṅga* (to be muddy)
grāsa (to step over, cross): cf. Sn. *kaḍ-a* (to cross);
 Kurukh *khadd* (river)
grōṅga (to crouch): cf. Sn. *kuru-ṅgu*
krēṅga (to shake): cf. Sn. *kuluṅgu*
krada (to be greedy)
- ml, mr:*— *mliṅga* (to turn over): cf. Sn. base *mar-*
mrīga (to repeat): cf. Dr. base *mar-*
mrūṅga (to be torn): cf. Sn. *mur-*
- tl, tr*
dl, dr } :—*tlau* (head): cf. Sn. *tal-ai*
truṅga (to be pierced): cf. Sn. *tiṛ-, tuṛ-*
drūṅga (to swing)
- vl, vr:*— *vriṅga* (to fall to pieces) } cf. Sn. *vir-i*
vṛeja (to bend back)
- sr:*— *vṛisa* (to mark) cf. Tam. *var-ai* (to write, mark).

It will be observed that the accent-shift occurs only in cases where *l* or *r* begins the second syllable. It has also to be noted that this change is the same as that mentioned above in Kui words with initial *r* and *l*, the only difference being that the initial vowels were dropped in these latter instances, while in forms with *pr-*, *br-*, *tr-*, *tl-*, etc., the initial consonants were retained but the included vowels dropped.

[C.] MEDIAL CONSONANTAL SOUNDS.

(i) Intervocal—*k-* has changed to—*h-*:—*vēha* (boiled rice), *āh* (to catch), *ūh* (to beat)

(ii) Intervocal—*s-*—*j-* in Kui is (1) from *t* or *d* e.g. *kasa* (to cut), *nāju* (country).

(2) from *l* e.g. *nisa* (to stand) *kisa* (to pinch),

(3) from the hiatus-filling glide e.g. *bis* (hunger), *kaju* (hand)

(iii) Inter-vocal—*d-* is from older—*l-* e.g. *viḍa* (bow), *pāḍu* (milk), etc. cf. the same change in some Telugu forms.

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[D.] VOWELS OF KUI.¹

(i) *a* stands for (1) [ʌ] of the South e. g., *aj* (to fear), etc., (2) for the neutral [ə] as an enunciative.

(ii) *ā* stands (1) for *ā* e. g. *āsk* (to weed), *pāḍu* (milk), *vā* (to come), *ā* (to become), *ānu* (I), etc.

(2) for [ə], [e] of the South in instances where accent-shift has occurred:—*lāṅga* (to break), *darja* (to multiply), *jamba* (to rest), *pada* (name)

(iii) *e* and *ē* generally represent *e* and *ē* of the South:—

peska (to pick), *sēru* (plough), *vēs* (speak), *sēpa* (to sweep together), *benda* (to incite)

In a few instances *ē* stands for Tamil *ā* e.g. *ēni* (elephant), *ēṇḍi* (play), etc. In this respect, Kui agrees with Telugu which also shows the same variation from Tamil.

(iv) *i* and *ī* correspond to the sounds of the South:—

sik (to scorch), *mliṅga* (to turn over), *piñja* (to rebound), *ninga* (to rise); *mīnu* (fish)

(v) *o* and *ō* (1) agree with *o* and *ō* of the South. e. g. *kōḍi* (cattle), *pōru* (buffalo), *kōju* (fowl), *soru* (hill) etc.

(2) in some instances where accent-shift has operated, *o* in Kui stands for *u* of the South, e. g. *glōṅga* (to be mixed up), *proṅga* (to snatch), etc.

(vi) *u* and *ū* appear to correspond to the vowels of the South, e.g., *uju* (flesh), *pūju* (flower), *mūga* (to be finished).

It will be observed that the variations from the south are secondary and are mostly, as is only to be expected, in those forms which have suffered accent-shift.

[E.] CONCLUSION.

[I.] The remarkable closeness of the relationship of Kui to the southern dialects generally in word-structure will have

1. In a few cases where Kui vowels show variations from the southern dialects, we may not be justified in saying that the southern varieties are original; the correspondences alone are here indicated. In this connection we have to remember that even in the South, Telugu and Tulu vowels do show some variations from those of corresponding Tamil-Kannada forms. On the whole, Kui vowels agree with Telugu rather than with Tam-Kann.

been apparent from the above; the points of resemblance may be summed up thus:—

(i) In *Anlaut* the sounds mostly correspond to those of the South except where accent-shift has operated and in a few other rare instances of vowels.

(ii) In *Anslaut* the formative and secondary endings show only a few variations from those of the South; the appearance of *ng*, *nd*, *mb*, *ṇḍ* is more striking in Kui than in Gōṇḍi, Brāhūi or Kurukh. The enunciative vowel, it may also be noted, is preserved in Kui.

[II.] The variations met with in Kui are mostly from Tamil and they appear to be secondary in character:—

(i) Accent-shift such as is met with in Kui does not exist in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayālam, but does exist in Telugu and Tuḷu:—Tel. *vāḍu* (he), *rōlu* (pestle), etc.; and Tuḷu *leppu* (to rise), *rēñju* (to dissolve) etc. The secondary character of these shift-derived forms is unquestionable.

(ii) The same accent-shift is responsible for some of the most prominent changes in the character of Kui vowels.

(iii) The presence of voiced plosives initially is another feature shared by Kui with Telugu, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa of the South.

A study of the phonology of Kui irresistibly suggests for this dialect closer affinities with Telugu (and with Tuḷu)¹ than with Tamil and Kannaḍa.

The closeness of the affinities of Kui to Telugu is more or less confirmed by the following similarities in grammatical structure and vocabulary:—

(a) *Grammatical Structure:*

(i) The distinction of gender on the basis of rationals and irrationals in Kui is more or less like the system in Telugu.

(ii) The free use of the old inflexional endings *-in*, *-t* and *-i* occurs in Kui and Telugu alike.

1. The agreement with Tuḷu in features of phonology rests on the following:—(a) the secondary initial aspirate occurring in Kui and in Tuḷu e. g. Kui *hur* (to see) and Tuḷu *hu* (to see), etc. (b) the development in both of fricatives from on-glides (c) accent-shift and the changes resulting therefrom (d) the change in both of the old group *nār* to *j*, etc.

(iii) The so-called Intermediate Tense of Kui which does duty for the Present and the Future may be compared to the Indefinite Tense, especially the Third Personal forms. cf. also the Rel. Participles and the 3rd Person Masculine Pronoun of Kui with those of Tel.

(iv) The formatives—*ari*, *mi*, *tanamu* of Kui are most intimately related to corresponding formatives in Telugu. These may, however, probably be borrowings rather than features denoting affinities.

(v) Other resemblances are the submergence of *ir* as an auxiliary verb by *ul*, similarity in syntactical constructions with help-words, use of tenses etc.

(b) *Vocabulary :*

The evidence of vocabulary cannot be so positive as that of essential grammatical features, to prove the greater affinities of Kui to Telugu than to Tamil; for, it is possible that large numbers of Telugu forms may have been borrowed by Kui which is spoken in areas lying immediately contiguous to the Telugu region. Nevertheless, the following correspondences¹ may be pointed out:—

<i>Kui</i>	<i>Telugu</i>
<i>kuḍu</i> , <i>kūlu</i> (breed, food)—	<i>kuḍu</i> ; <i>kūra</i> (curry)
<i>ākali</i> (hunger)—	<i>ākali</i>
<i>talli</i> (mother)—	<i>talli</i>
<i>doṅga</i> (thief)—	<i>doṅga</i>
<i>valla</i> (by the side of)—	<i>vadda</i>
<i>āku</i> (leaf)—	<i>āku</i>
<i>jadavu</i> (to read)—	<i>tsadavu</i>
<i>kalgu</i> (to get)—	<i>kalugu</i>
<i>kūg</i> (to sit)—	<i>kūtsu</i>
<i>vinu</i> (to hear)—	<i>vinu</i>
<i>vale</i> , <i>ka-vali</i> (must)—	<i>kāvāli</i>
<i>miḍḍe</i> (child)—	<i>biḍḍa</i>
<i>kōsaramu</i> (for)—	<i>kōsaramu</i> (for the sake of).

The evidence of accent-shift,² of the general character of vowels, of grammatical peculiarities and of vocabulary would,

1. Of course, cognates from other South Dravidian dialects could be adduced; but the resemblances between the Kui and the Tel. forms in structure and in meanings, are remarkable.

2. Accent-shift occurs most numerously in the Central Dravidian dialects, while in Tuḷu, Brāhūi and Kurukh also they are not absent.

therefore, necessitate a slight modification in Prof. Sten Konow's view expressed in the *Linguistic Survey* (Vol. IV, Page 284) that Kui "on the whole, is more closely connected with the Tamil-Kanara forms of speech than with Telugu."

In Tulu, the change occurs mainly in connection with *j* and the liquid sounds *r* and *l*, e.g. *randu* (to crave—cf. *era*); *rēk* (line—cf. Tam. *varai*); *reñju* (to dissolve—cf. Tam. *karai*); *leppu* (to call—cf. Tam. *viḷi*) *lumbu* (to wash—cf. Tam. *alambu*).

Brāhūi *dakk* (to conceal—cf. Tam. *aḍakku*); *ḍal* (to gnaw—cf. Tam. *aḍar*); *ḍḍ* (to carry—cf. Tam. *eḍ*); *rēs* (to spin—cf. Tam. *tiri*); *rū* (to reap—cf. Tam. *ari*); etc., show accent-shift.

Probable instances in Kurukh are *ras-na* (to become one with—cf. South. Dr. *or-*); *rek-na* (to grown, to cry—cf. South Dr. *kar-*); *rēt-na* (*tō* wear away by rubbing); *lekha* (like)—cf. *pōle*.

LITERARY NOTES

BY

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कामं प्रिया न सुलभा मनस्तु तद्भावदर्शनाश्वासि ।
अकृतार्थेऽपि मनसिजे रतिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते ॥

(Śākuntala Act II verse 1.)

As has been remarked by a commentator, this is a knotty verse in the Śākuntala. As the reader is aware, it occurs in the beginning of the second Act. Two readings are current in this śloka, namely, *Āśvāsi* and *Āyāsi* and their comparative merits were also the subject of discussion among friends in the conversations I referred to in the last number of this Journal. The reading "*Āśvāsi*" is, I understand, found in all Bengal Manuscripts and the commentary of Śaṅkara. It has been adopted by Abhirāma Bhaṭṭa in his commentary (See Vani Vilas edition of Śākuntala). The variant '*Āyāsi*' is found in all Devanāgarī recensions and has been adopted by the commentator, Rāghava Bhaṭṭa and Kāṭayavema (though Mr. Kale in his note in the Bombay edition prefers the reading *Āśvāsi*) and also in the recent Kumbakonam edition by that well known scholar, Pandit Srinivasachariar. Both readings are found indiscriminately in Southern editions. This śloka, the poet puts into the mouth of King Duṣyanta as a piece of mature introspection. The king has met Śakuntalā in the hermitage, has fallen in love with her, has carefully observed her and tried to satisfy himself that she in her turn loves him. He is spending sleepless nights in the precincts of the *Āśrama* of Kaṇva. It is then that he soliloquises. He analyses the psychology of his own mind and arrives at a great truth. Though the beloved is beyond his reach, still the mind seeks consolation in having found out her real sentiment towards him. Therefore, he concludes, it is the mutuality and reciprocity of love that creates happiness, not the mere sensual pleasures of union. This is the full import of the śloka. The spiritual

aspect of love is emphasised by the poet. The reading '*Āśvāsi*' helps to bring out this idea very well. Abhirāma Bhaṭṭa annotates the phrase तद्भावदर्शनाश्वासि thus:—तस्या भावस्य अनुरागस्य दर्शनेन पर्यालोचनेन आश्वसितुं शीलवत्। The reference to the "ताच्छीत्ये णिनिः" in the derivation of the compound denotes that this is the characteristic of the lover's mind and leads to the generalisation contained in the second half of the stanza. The insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting the reading '*Āyāsi*' is that it will convey the idea that the *bhāvadarśana* is to be in the future, while, as a matter of fact, in the play, the King had already noticed some indications of Śākuntalā's mind in the first Act, (*Vide* वाचं न मिश्रयति etc., I. 26) and to which he refers again in the second Act later (दर्भाङ्कुरेण etc., II. 12.). Moreover it is not at all in accordance with what is indicated clearly by the lines immediately following the stanza viz., एवमात्माभिप्रायसंभावितेष्टजनचित्तवृत्तिः and the stage direction (स्मितं कृत्वा) There the king tries to laugh at himself for his interpretation of those indications which he had observed and formed the basis for his philosophising in the above *śloka*. This clearly shows that the *śloka* proceeds on the basis that the *bhāvadarśana* had taken place to some extent. Taking all this into consideration, one should conclude that the reading "*Āśvāsi*" must be preferred. We, therefore, express the hope that all editions of Śākuntala will, hereafter, adopt this reading and that this diversity will cease.

THE OLDEST ACCOUNT OF THE TAMIL ACADEMIES

BY

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Much of the uncertainty in our knowledge of the early history of the Tamil country, and, so, of south India, is due to our ignorance of the history of the earliest Tamil literature available to us at the present time. That literature being sparse and fragmentary, not much of history could be extracted out of it, and even the little that we can deduce seems to be in conflict with the evidence obtained from inscriptions discovered all over the country. To gather, evaluate and reconcile all the available testimony and to work out a connected and reliable narrative are tasks of a highly complex and difficult character.¹

The real history is obscured by a number of comparatively ancient attempts at historical reconstruction. The most interesting of them is to be found in the commentary on a 'Grammar' now known as the *Iraiyanār Ahap-Porul*,²—a treatise on 'Ahap-Porul' by Iraiyanār.³ The historian's interest in the work is not

1. For many years I have been working at a comprehensive history of what is known as the age of the Śaṅgam,—the earliest period of the history of the Tamils for which literary evidence is now available. My main objects have been to determine the chronological sequence of the poets, the patrons and the potentates known to that literature and to discover the course of political events in that period. The task is an arduous one and I have been able to devote only my leisure to it. Even so, much of the book has been written down, but I am afraid it may be years before it finds publication. This article is but one of a series of preliminary studies.

2. The Author's system of transliteration is retained.

3. Three editions of the work are now available : two by Tāmō-daram Pillai (the first, I. *AP.* T¹, published in A-M 1883, and the second, I. *AP.* T², in A-M 1899) and one by S. Bhavānandam Pillai.

so much in its text (though it raises questions of some difficulty) as in the commentary on it.

The work, as we have it now, is a very brief treatise of sixty short metrical aphorisms.¹ The theme of the 'Grammar' is love, a subject which from the earliest times has been accepted as a topic appropriately dealt with in a grammar, as Tamil grammarians have understood that term. The work is found divided into two sections,—the first, of thirty-three aphorisms, on the Love Clandestine, and the second, of twenty-seven aphorisms, on the Love Marital.² Neither Preface nor Introduction, nor even an Invocation, starts the work on its course : it begins abruptly with an aphorism in which its theme is broached :

Of Love, in situations five, what's called Clandestine,

Is the practice, so the learned say, of Kandarovam,³

Among the marriages eight of the Andanar's⁴ scriptures rare.

The treatise proceeds, in the remaining fifty-nine aphorisms, to map out, with equal brevity, the true course of Love. Nowhere in the text of the treatise have we the least hint as to its author or as to its title, nor as to the circumstances in which it was written : indeed, there is nothing in it which is in the least foreign to its scope as a work on the theme of Love. The author of the treatise, however, makes it clear in the text that he has guided himself by the opinions of competent authorities on the

(I. *AP. B*, published in 1916.) Except where otherwise indicated I quote from I. *AP. B*. A fourth edition has been undertaken by my old master, Pandit C. R. Namaśivāya Mudaliyār.

1. Pandit C. R. Namaśivāya Mudaliyār said, in his Madras University Lectures, 1929, that some manuscripts contain only 59 aphorisms and he doubts whether the last, the 60th, is genuine.

2. Pandit C. R. Namaśivāya Mudaliyār suspects that the second section, along with the commentary on it, is a late accretion,—his main argument being that the work is known as the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* in the 'Preface' and is so called by later authorities,—the *Karpu-Iyal*, which is the second, being ignored.

3. Skt. *Gāndharva*.

4. Usually taken to refer to the people called the Brāhmaṇas.

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subject¹ and we have, therefore, to infer that much of serious discussion on topics of 'grammar' had preceded him.

The commentary it is that contains all that has a savour of history. Each aphorism is followed by appropriate glosses : the comment on the first aphorism, however, is not limited to a mere gloss on that aphorism but covers very much of introductory matter : it contains an account of three Academies round which early Tamil literature is said to have centred and also an account of the origin of the treatise itself and of its commentary. This portion of the commentary, therefore, deserves close attention. The glosses on the succeeding aphorisms do not demand detailed attention from the student of history, but they contain material which helps us to fix the age of the commentary itself.

The first aphorism is followed immediately by the comment on it. The commentary starts with the words, 'So runs the aphorism', and proceeds, not as may be expected, to expound the aphorism, but to expatiate on the convention of affixing a 'Preface' to a literary work. Then, it classifies Prefaces into two classes, the General and the Special, and enumerates the varieties and the contents of each class of Preface. While dismissing the General Preface in a cursory paragraph, considerable attention is devoted to the Special Preface. Quoting two stanzas from other grammarians, the commentary lays down that the topics in a Special Preface may be eleven in number,—namely, the Name of the 'Author', the 'Lineage' of the treatise, its 'Jurisdiction', its 'Title', its 'Make', the 'Theme' expounded in it, the 'Audience' before which it was expounded, the 'Fruits of a study' of it, its 'Age' and its 'Scene' and the 'Reason' for its composition. The commentary then goes on to deal *seriatim* with each of these eleven topics, but we need advert to those portions alone that are necessary for our purpose.

The 'Author' is said to be the God of the rare scriptures—in Ālavāyil at Kūḍal the palaces of which are like unto great mountains—who is radiant like the glistening flame and wears, as a chaplet, the crescent moon whose rays are mellow like milk.

1. This is obvious from the endings of many of the aphorisms :

என்மனார் புலவர் : 1, 54.

என்ப : 6, 12, 30, 52.

என மொழிப : 18, 32.

வரையார் : 20, 50, 51.

This is a mere periphrasis for Śiva,—in his manifestation as the god of the famous temple at Madurai.

The treatise is said to have had no 'Lineage', its author having been the All-Wise himself: it is said that, in consequence, it could not be considered a work derived from another, but must be taken to be absolutely original in character.

The Tamil country, which, on the authority of two grammarians,¹ is taken to lie between 'the Vēṅgaḍam in the north, the Kumari in the south, the sea in the east and the west', is declared to fall within its 'Jurisdiction.'

Premising that the 'Title' of a work may be due to a variety of reasons, the commentary proceeds thus: "The *Ahattiyam* and the *Tol-Kāppiyam* were each named after its author: the *Sālavāḥaṇam* and the *Iḷam-Tiraiyam* were each named after him who had them composed: the *Nihaṇḍu*, the *Nūl*,² the *Kaḷa-k-kōṭṭu-t-taṇḍu* are works which bear names that are but denotative marks: the *Paṇṇiru Paḍalam* (Twelve Cantos) got its name from its length: the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* (the Chapter on the Love Clandestine) got its name from its speciality, for, this author must hold, that of the two, the Love Clandestine and the Love Marital, the former was the higher" "the Love Marital is only the sequel to the Love clodestine"

Obviously, the commentary applies the name *Kaḷavu-Iyal* to our treatise. In all probability, its present name, *Aha-p-Porul*, was not current in the days when the commentary was composed. This is only an illustration of the phenomenon of many a Tamil work changing in name in the course of the centuries.³

As for what has been called, for brevity, the 'Audience' of the treatise, the commentary spins out a long narrative.

"Is it not that it becomes necessary to examine whether a treatise is flawless only when the work contains flaws? This being a treatise by God, it has no blemishes, and so it had no audience. Though it had none, it has yet to be said that it had

1. *Kākkai-pāṇṇiyār* and *Tol-Kāppiyar*. The passage attributed to the latter is now generally taken to belong to the 'Preface' affixed by *Paṇampāraṇār* to the *Tol-Kāppiyam* (see I. *AP. B.*, 4, n. 2). For a discussion as to the authorship of the verse, see Pandit N. *Vēdāśalam*'s article in the *Nāna-Śāharam*, (c. 1902 Ag.) 13.

2. On this work, see I. *AP. B.*, 4, n. 2. It is not mentioned in I. *AP. T.*

3. This proposition will be substantiated in another context.

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also an audience, having regard to the circumstance of a commentary being current. If it is asked who the auditor was, it has to be said that he was Uruttira-Śarman,¹ son of Uppūri-kuḍikilār.² We shall tell why he heard it.

"The Pāṇḍiyar maintained three classes of Academies, known as the First Academy, the Middle Academy and the Last Academy. It is said³ that of those who set as the First Academy were five-hundred and forty-nine, beginning with Ahattiyaṇār, the God of the well-spread matted locks who had set Tiripuram on fire, Muruḥa-vēl who had overthrown the Muḍi-Nāharāyar of Murañjiyūr, and the Lord of Wealth. It is said that four-thousand four-hundred and forty-nine, inclusive of them, composed poems. Their compositions ranged from ever so many⁴ *Pari pāṭals*, *Mudu-Nārai*, *Mudu-Kuruhu* and *Kaḷariyāvirai*. It is said that they sat as an Academy for four-thousand four-hundred and forty years. It is said that those who maintained them as an Academy were eighty-nine, beginning with Kāy-śiṇa-Valudi and ending with Kaḍum-kōṇ. Of them, it is said, seven Pāṇḍiyas were laureates. It is said that it was at the Madurai which was submerged by the sea that they sat in academy and studied Tamil. To them the treatise was the *Ahattiyam*.

"Then, it is said that those who sat as the Middle Academy were fifty-nine, beginning with Ahattiyaṇār, Karumkōḷi of Irundaiyūr, Mōśi, Kāppiyaṇ of Veḷḷūr, Śiru-Pāṇḍaraṅgaṇ, Tiraiyaṇ-Māraṇ, Tuvaraik-kōṇ and Kīrandai. It is said that three-thousand and seven-hundred, inclusive of them, composed poems. It is said that their compositions were those beginning with the *Kali*, the *Kuruhu*, the *Veṇḍāḷi* and the *Viyāḷa-mālai*,

1. V. L., 'Uruttira Śarman': I. AP. T.

2. The personal names of this early period are not only interesting but also instructive to the historian. They form the subject-matter of a critical study in a later paper.

3. The word for this phrase and the variants of the word are difficult of interpretation and exact translation: they have been the scene of numerous grammatical battles. The last paragraph of the comment on this aphorism contains a discussion on these words (I. AP. B., 34).

4. This phrase and its variants deserve more attention than could possibly be given them in this paper.

Ahaval. To them, it is said, the treatises were these : the *Ahattiyam*, the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, the *Mā-Purāṇam*, the *Isai-Nūṇukkam* and the *Pūta-Purāṇam*. It is said that they sat in academy for three-thousand and seven-hundred years. It is said that those who maintained them as an Academy were fifty-nine, beginning with Ven-Tēre-Seliyaṇ and ending with Muḍat-Tiru-Māraṇ. Of them, it is said, five Pāṇḍiyas were laureates. It is said that it was at Kabāḍapuram that they sat in academy and studied Tamil. Perhaps it was in those days that the sea submerged the Pāṇḍiya country.

"Then, it is said that those who sat as the Last Academy and studied Tamil were forty-nine, beginning with Śīru-Mēdāviyār, Śēndam-Pūdaṇār,¹ Arivuḍai-Araṇār, Perum-kunṛūr-kilār,² Iḷam-Tiru-Māraṇ, Nal-Anduvaṇār the *āsiriya* of Madurai, Marudaṇ-Iḷa-Nāhaṇār and Nak-Kiraṇār the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār. It is said that, inclusive of them, four-hundred and forty-nine composed poems. It is said that the works beginning with the *Neḍum-Tohai-Nāṇūru*, the *Kuṛum-Tohai-Nāṇūru*, the *Nar-Tinai-Nāṇūru*, the *Pura-Nāṇūru*, the *Aim-Kuru-Nūru*, the *Paḍiṇṇu-paṭlu*, one hundred and fifty *Kalis*, seventy *Pari-pāḍals*, *Kūttu*, *Varu*, *Śīrr-Isai* and *Pēr-Isai*, were their compositions. To them, it is said, the treatises were the *Ahattiyam* and the *Tol-Kāppiyam*. It is said that they sat in academy and studied Tamil for one-thousand and eight-hundred and fifty years. Those who maintained them as an Academy were, it is said, forty-nine in number, beginning with the Muḍat-Tiru-Māraṇ who had survived the submergence by the sea and ending with Ukkirap-Peru-Vaḷudi. Of them, it is said, three Pāṇḍiyas were laureates. It was at Uttara-Madurai that, it is said, they sat in assembly and studied Tamil.

"At that time the Pāṇḍiya country suffered from famine for twelve years. Suffering, when hunger grew severe, the king called together all the learned and said, 'Come, I cannot protect ye : my land suffereth greatly : go and live as ye list, and when, the land hath become a land, remember me and come back.' He having said so, twelve years passed by uncounted, after all of them had gone away leaving him. After such lapse, rains fell

1. V. l., 'Śēndaṇ-Pūdaṇār' : I. AP. B., 7, n. 2.

2. V. l. 'Perum-kuḍi-kilār' : I. AP. B., 7, n. 3.

3. 'There are those who would put it at one thousand and nine hundred and fifty', I. AP. T.1, 5, n. 1.; I. AP. B., 8, n. 1.

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and the land yielded plenteously. When the rains had fallen, the king, saying, 'Now that the land hath become a land, bring back the learned', sent emissaries all round, and, they returned bringing scholars learned in *Eluttu-Adihāram* and in *Sol-Adihāram*, having come across them, but declared that they had nowhere chanced on any versed in *Poruḷ-Adihāram*. They having come, the king grew perplexed and anxious, and asked, 'Are not *Eluttu* and *Sol* conned merely for *Poruḷ-Adihāram*? If we do not obtain *Poruḷ-Adihāram*, our having got these is no better than our not having got them', and stood stock-still: thereupon, the flame-hued Lord of Ālavāyil of Madurai thought, 'What a pity! Great is the anguish of the king. It being in the cause of learning, it is meet that we afford him relief,' and he composed these sixty aphorisms, inscribed them on three leaves of copper and placed them beneath his seat.

"The day after they were so placed, the priest of the temple cleansed the temple all over and sprinkled it over with water and garnished it with flowers: prompted by God, as a result of his devotion, the priest, who had never before plied the broom under the pedestal, made up his mind that day to sweep underneath, and plied the broom with a will. On his doing so, the leaves emerged along with the broom. On their emerging, he took and examined them, and to him they appeared as the *Poruḷ-Adihāram* of surpassing appropriateness. So appearing, the Brāhmaṇa thought: 'Our Lord must have been pleased to grant these, impressed by the king having been struck stock-still over the lack of *Poruḷ-Adihāram*!': without going home, he wended his way to the palace-gate and informed the guards: on their informing the king, he called on the Brāhmaṇa to enter: on entering and showing them, the king took the leaves (of copper) and looked at them, and exclaimed, 'This be *Poruḷ-Adihāram*! Our Lord must have observed our woe and granted us these', faced that direction, stood in adoration, called for the Academicians, told them, 'This is the *Poruḷ-Adihāram* which our Lord, having observed our woe, hath vouchsafed to us. Take it and interpret it: and so, they took it with them and while ther examined it, having seated themselves on the great and esteemed board,¹ some time passed, each of them claiming

1. This is a word which seems to have undergone changes in form and significance, *viz.*, 'kaṇa-māp-palahai': I. AP, T.

that his commentary alone was apt. When time was so passing, they said, 'How-much-soever we might thus discuss, a decision will not be reached. Let us go unto the king, pray him that he would grant us a judge over us, take him, confess that what he adjudgeth to be its purport is the purport and what he doth not, is not,' and all of them, of one mind went unto the king. When they went, the king, rising, advanced towards them and asked, 'What? Have ye found the purport of the treatise?', and they said, 'Grant us a judge over us for finding that purport.' the king replied, 'Go! How shall I seek a judge over ye? Ye are forty-nine and have no peers in this birth'; thereupon, they returned, and seating themselves again on the great and esteemed board, thought, 'The king too hath spoken so: How shall we obtain a judge?', and then, they decided thus, 'Is not the God of the resplendent matted locks in Ālavāyil the author of the treatise? Let us lay ourselves down and importune him that he would grant us a judge', and they went and laid themselves importuning him: in the middle watch of the night, arose a voice, 'There is a dumb lad, green-eyed, thin-haired, five years old, known as Uruttira-Śaṇman,¹ son of Uppūri-kuḍi-kiḷār of this place: despise him not for being such, take him with you, place him on a seat, sit below, and on your expounding the aphorisms, tears will flow and the hair of his body will bristle on hearing the true exposition; he will remain still on hearing an incorrect one: he is the god Kumāra: he is born there on account of a curse.' these words repeated thrice, becoming acceptable to them all, they got up and circumambulated the temple, and all the Academy went up to Uppūri-kuḍi-kiḷār, told him all these words, importuned that they should be given Uruttira-Śaṇman² to be their head, took him along, clothed him in white, adorned him with white flowers, decked him with white sandal, raised him to the great and esteemed board and seated him thereon, seated themselves below, and expounded the aphorisms; having heard the exposition of every one in order and kept still, he occasionally shed tears and the hair of his body bristled at the exposition of Marudan-Iḷa-Nāhaṇār of Madurai; but at every word of the exposition of Nak-Kīraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār, he sat still, tears flowing

1. This reading is adopted in I. *AP*. T¹ as well.

2. Here too.

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and the hairs of his body bristling. Then, they applauded greatly and said, 'We have obtained the true commentary on this treatise.'

"On that score, there are also those who say that the commentary on this treatise was written by Uruttira-Śaṇman,¹ son of Uppūri-kuḍi-kiḷār. Take it that he did not make, but only listened to the true gloss and that the treatise of the God of Ālavāyil of Madurai was commented upon by Nak-Kīraṇār and listened to by God Kumāra. Now we shall speak of the course in which the commentary became current.

"Nak-Kīraṇār, the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Madurai told it to his son, Kīram-Korraṇār²: he told it to Tēṇūr-kiḷār: he told it to Paḍiyam-Korraṇār: he told it to Selvattu-Āśiriyar Perum-Suvaṇār; he told it to Maṇalūr-Āśiriyar Puḷiyam-Kāyp-Perum-Sēndaṇār: he told it to Sellūr-Āśiriyar³ Āṇḍaip-Perum-Kumāraṇār: he told it to Tiruk-kunrattu-Āśiriyar: he told it to Mādava-ḷaṇār⁴ Iḷa-Nāhaṇār: he told it to Muṣiri-Āśiriyar Nilakaṇḍaṇār. Thus comes the commentary."

The commentary goes on to treat of the 'Fruits of a study' of the treatise, and, then, it proceeds thus:—

"Now, as for its Age, it was written in the time of the Last Academy. Now, as for the Scene, it was the audience-hall of Ukkipap-Peru-Vaḷudi. As for the Cause, it was published by the God of Ālavāyil, he having seen that the Pāṇḍiyaṇār and the Academicians of that time were hindered for want of a grammar on Poruḷ. The Preface ends."

So ends the Preface. But the prefatory portion does not stop here. The commentary says: "Now, the Preface having been set out, it is but meet that the course of the treatise should also be stated."

Then, it goes on to divide treatises into four classes,—Original, Derivative, Corroborative and Refutative,—but adds nothing to what it has already said about the character of this work. Then, it states what a treatise is, and, referring to what it expounds, it says 'We have stated it in the Preface: it expounds Tamil'. It goes on to say that 'this Adihāram' examines what 'Poruḷ' is and to state clinchingly the purport of

1. 'And here too.

2. V. L., 'Kīravī-Korraṇār': I. AP. T.

3. V. L., 'Sollūr-Āśiriyar': I. AP. T.¹

4. V. L., 'Māḍaḷavaṇār': I. AP. T.¹ and I. AP. B., 12, n. 1.

'this aphorism'. In these paragraphs we have a brief but lucid Conspectus of the work.

The commentary then starts with the words, 'The meaning of this', and gives, word by word, the purport of the aphorism, and, next, a close paraphrase. Then, it embarks on what it calls an 'Extended Gloss' on the aphorism and gives us a short exposition of some of the elements of 'Poru!'.

The portions of the commentary on the first aphorism which are interesting to the historian, are, therefore, those parts of the 'Preface' which pertain to the three Academies and to the origin of the treatise and the commentary. We are not told on what authority these accounts are based: the commentary disdains to mention the sources of its information. Its knowledge is obviously meagre in the extreme; if we eliminate the patent impossibilities, nothing is left behind that is capable of being verified. Confessedly, the commentator came during the lifetime of the Last Academy, that is, about 8,000 years after the foundation of the First Academy and about 3,000 years after its dissolution.

The details that are vouchsafed to us about the first two Academies are not sufficient for examining the accuracy of the accounts with any profit. The commentator lets his fancy run riot and exhibits a decided preference for the marvellous over the probable.

The account of the Last Academy, however, contains some statements which could be subjected to scrutiny: it is here that the commentator's feet seem to struggle to touch solid earth.

Among the works attributed to this Academy are *Kūttu*, *Vari*, *Sir̥r-Isai* and *Pēr-Isai*, but we know almost nothing of them. The other works, however, are actually available to us, almost in their entirety: the *Neḍum-Tokai-Nānūru*, the *Kurum-Tohai-Nānūru*, the *Nar-Tiṇai-Nānūru*, the *Pura-Nānūru*, the *Aim-Kuru-Nūru*, the *Paḍirrup-Pattu* and the one hundred and fifty *Kalis*, have all of them survived, almost unscathed, and out of the seventy poems making up the *Pari-Pāḍal* a little over a score have been rescued. The list in the Preface is instructive as much for what it omits as for what it does mention. Some of the works which are now usually attributed to the age of the Last Academy do not find a place in the list, the principal among them being the *Pattup-Pāṭtu*, the 'Eighteen Minor Poems', the *Silapp-Adihāram* and the *Maṇi-mēhalai*. Such of the works in the list as have survived are all anthologies and are now called

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the *Eṭṭut-Tohai*, the 'Eight Anthologies'. One of them, the *Neṭum-Tohai Nānūru*, now better known under the title *Aha-Nānūru*, was an anthology of poems garnered, as appears from its colophon, by Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ, son of Uppūri-kuḍi-kiḷār, the very person, who, according to this Preface, set the seal of approval on this commentary itself. The importance of these facts becomes obvious when we turn to the portion of the commentary which narrates its own origin.

The famine of twelve years ravaged the Tamil country while the Last Academy was still in existence, for, according to the Preface, the members of the Academy were greatly divided in the interpretation of the *Ahaṇ-Poru!* divinely vouchsafed to them through the king, after the famine had ceased, and the Academy, almost assembled in convocation, piously circumambulated the temple and marched to the house of the prospective Moderator and, then, its members submitted their respective commentaries to his scrutiny. The Last Academy having thus been in existence in the days when the text of the treatise was revealed and the commentary *sans pareil* thereon was composed, it becomes interesting to inquire how much later the Academy happened to survive. We have already noted that the colophon to the *Neṭum-Tohai-Nānūru* has it that that work was compiled by this same Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ. That anthology being not only mentioned in this commentary but also frequently quoted from and Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ having been only five years old when he played the Moderator to the contending scholiasts, the compilation of that anthology should have been within the immediately preceding five years. And if we infer, as we have to, that the compilation would not have been undertaken if the Last Academy had not been in the throes of death, we have to conclude that that Academy expired in the days of Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ,—that is, when the *Neṭum-Tohai-Nānūru* had been compiled, the miraculous treatise on 'Poru!' had been discovered and an authoritative commentary thereon approved. Confirmation of this conclusion may be found in the statement in the colophon of the *Neṭum-Tohai-Nānūru* that that anthology was compiled at the instance of Ukkirap-Peru-Valūdi, the very king who, according to this commentary, was the last of the Pāṇḍiya patrons of this Academy.¹

1. Perhaps, attention may also be drawn to a passage in the commentary in which reference is made to a poem of the *Neṭum-Tohai*.

But the commentary as we have it contains a paragraph in which its own later history is chronicled,—how from Nak-Kiraṇār it passed down from generation to generation till, at the ninth remove, it came to be confided to Muṣīri-Āśiriyar Nīla-Kaṇḍaṇār. This passage is not framed in the prophetic strain which the Purāṇas affect, and, even if it were, must obviously be an interpolation of a later date. How much later? The preceding paragraph furnishes a clue when it records that opinion was divided as to whether Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ or Nak-Kiraṇār was the author of the commentary. The paragraph states explicitly that the commentary was handed down from A to B, from B to C, and so on successively down to J, the last disciple with a specific name, and then adds the words, 'Thus comes the commentary',—words which look as if they had been added to indicate that the commentary had been handed down through more generations than are explicitly and by name referred to in the previous sentence. It looks as if many generations, beyond J and exceeding at least nine, must have passed by before this paragraph came to be inserted into the commentary.

Occasionally it has been thought that the commentary must have been transmitted orally down to the disciple of the ninth remove and that he must have reduced it to writing, inserting into

Nānūru collection (No. 26) and the reader is referred to the *urai* ('prose-bit' or 'comment') appended to it for the explanation of a difficulty in the poem (I. *AP.* 4, B. 80). If we turn to the *Neḍum-Tohai-Ānūru*, the explanation is not found in the old *urai* or commentary of an anonymous scholiast which is now available to us to the end of the 90th poem. It is not possible even to speculate if the explanation was given in the commentary on the *Neḍum-Tohai-Ānūru* which, if we may rely on the colophon to that collection, was written in *ahaval* metre by Pālvaṇṇaṇ, the Villavadaraiyaṇ of Maṇakkuḍi in Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu, for that commentary is now extinct. But, immediately after the poem we find a bit of prose in which the explanation is actually to be found: perhaps this is the *urai* referred to by the commentator on Iraiyaṇār's work. The reference would, therefore, seem to suggest that in the days of this commentator the poems of the *Neḍum-Tohai-Ānūru* had prose-bits suffixed to them,—just as we find them now in the printed books. As these bits could not have been added before the compilation of the anthology, the reference to them in the commentary on Iraiyaṇār's work would lead to the conclusion that the compilation of the anthology must have preceded the commentary on Iraiyaṇār's grammar.

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it, the passage recording the succession of disciples.¹ But there is nothing in the account to support the suggestion: the oral transmission to successive generations and the final reduction to writing are not even hinted at. The passage is concerned only with setting out the lineage of pupils,—evidently to impress it on the reader that the commentary had come in unbroken succession from so eminent an authority as Nak-Kīrar himself. The words which indicate, as with a wave of the hand, the line of pupils, too numerous or too insignificant to mention, through which the commentary passed after Nīla-Kaṇḍaṇār, would seem to show that this portion of the commentary was later than Nīla-kaṇḍaṇār.

This paragraph narrating how the commentary was handed down ten generations after Nāk-Kīrar and the previous paragraph affirming that the commentary was the work of Nak-Kīrar cannot be contemporaneous with the main text of the commentary and they could not have come from the pen which wrote the commentary. Of course, the Tamil convention is that the Preface to a work should be written, not by the author himself, but by his preceptor or by his class-mate or by his disciple,² but what we are here concerned with is the Preface to the Commentary and not a Preface to the Treatise itself.

The conclusion is therefore forced upon us that the paragraph in which Nak-Kīrar's authorship of the commentary is affirmed and the paragraph in which the transmission of the commentary down the stream of generations is related must have belonged to a period when the accounts of the composition of the commentary had become confused and tradition had lost its memory and all that could be discovered,—or all that could be agreed upon,—was the course of descent in the first ten generations.

We may now pass on to consider whether the paragraph about the Last Academy could have formed an integral portion of

1. Pandit N. Vēdāśalam in *Nāna-Śāharam* (c. 1902 My.), 5-6; Pandit M. Vēṅgaḍaśāmi-Nāṭṭār, *Nak-Kīrar*,² (1927), 53-4. Pandit M. Rāhava-Aiyaṅgār has suggested a parallel in the tradition that Nam-Piḷḷai's lectures on Nam-Ālvār's *Tiru-vāy-Moli* were reduced to writing by Tiru-Vīdip-Piḷḷai, and are still known as *Nam-Piḷḷai-Idu* after "Nam-Piḷḷai. (*Nāna-Śāharam*, c. 1902 Ag., 4).

2. TK. TK. EA. *Pūyiram*. IP. Śū. 2; Ib. NI. Śū. 8.
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the commentary. We need not now waste a thought on those works assigned to that institution which are not available to us at the present day. But those which have survived and come down to us are all of them anthologies, as has been already noticed. These anthologies, in all probability, represent only a very small fraction of the literary output of the age, but the commentator was obviously not aware of all that volume of work : the stars of his literary firmament are only those which, after the lapse of centuries, shine on us too. It cannot be doubted that he must have lived very long after the institution about which he speaks, when practically nothing more was known of it than is now known to us.

If the account of the Last Academy itself is spurious, the accounts of the two previous Academies cannot be trustworthy. The paragraphs relating how the treatise was discovered and how the commentary came to be composed are wedged in between the accounts of the Academies and of the line of descent of the commentary, and for the very reason of the company they are found in,—if for none other,—they deserve to be considered spurious. The absurdities in these paragraphs have been exposed so frequently and at such length that it is unnecessary to enumerate them here.¹ These paragraphs could obviously have been written by one who had access to the *Ettut-Tohai* and the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, had a turn for invention and a partiality for the romantic over the true and had also a disregard for all that is natural and probable.

The gross improbabilities which mar these accounts are enough to show that the paragraphs in which they are recounted could not have been written by a contemporary of the commentator or by any one who was close to him in point of time. They are obviously interpolations of a much later date.

But these paragraphs do not seem to be the only interpolations. They cannot be cast out of the text of the commentary

1. Most of the criticism will be found in the books and articles referred to in the foot-notes to this paper, and especially in Śrīnivāsa-Pillai's *Tamilar Vāralāru* (1922), I. ii. 15-21, Seshagiri-Sastri's *Essay on Tamil Literature* (1879), and P. T. Srinivasa-Iyengar's *History of the Tamils* (1929), 225-42.

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without leaving jagged edges and broken threads. If we throw out the paragraphs in which the accounts of the Academies is given, we have also to eliminate the much earlier paragraphs about 'the God of the rare scriptures, in Ālavāyil at Kūḍal' having been the author of the treatise and about its having had no 'Lineage', and also the later paragraphs about the 'Age' of the treatise having been 'the time of the last Academy', its 'Scene' having been 'the audience-hall of Ukkirap-Peru-Vaḷudi' and 'its Cause' having been the concern of 'the God of Ālavāyil' at 'the Pāṇḍiyanār and the Academicians' being 'hindered for want of a grammar on Poruḷ'. It would then be found that though the commentator laid down that the topics to be considered in a "Preface" are eleven in number, he dealt with only six of them and was silent on five, the Authorship, the Lineage, the Age, the Scene and the Cause,—or, we must assume that the five paragraphs which he originally wrote on those five points were subsequently removed and others were substituted in their place. Neither assumption is satisfactory: it is improbable that the commentator left gaps at important points in the "Preface" and it is impossible that the scholarly reader would have been deceived by the substitutions. The conclusion is irresistible that the whole of the "Preface" is an interpolation.

From the point where, immediately after the first aphorism, the prose begins with the words 'So runs the aphorism', to the paragraph which closes with the words 'The "Preface" Ends', we seem to have a long and sustained interpolation, within which itself were interpolated the paragraphs about the Academies and the history of the Commentary. When, upon the formal conclusion of the "Preface", the Commentary proceeds,—'Now the "Preface" having been set out',—to say that 'it is but meet that the course of the Treatise should also be stated', we are still in the preliminary stages, for in the paragraphs of this extension we have only a conspectus of the work. From here onwards to the point where the real comment begins with the words, 'The meaning of this:—' indicating that what follows is the purport of the aphorism,—we are faced with what appears to be another piece of interpolation. If we eliminate this portion as well, the genuine Commentary will begin with the words 'So runs the aphorism', and the very next sentence would be 'The meaning of this:'. So read, the Commentary goes straight into an exposition of the aphorism instead of running at a tangent at the very start. There

should be very little difficulty in accepting this suggestion, for, indeed, the convention in Tamil is, as already pointed out, for the 'Preface' to come from a pen other than that of the author.

If these suggestions are accepted, all that portion of the commentary on the first aphorism which is in the nature of prefatory matter is an interpolation or is the result of a series of interpolations. Once these paragraphs are eliminated, all the suspicious history is cast out, and, with it, the legend that God was the text-writer and that Nak-Kīrar was his glossator.

It is true that portions of the "Preface" are referred to later in the commentary,—in the portions which may be called the conspectus and the Extended Gloss. The statement in the 'Special' Preface that the 'Theme' of the treatise is 'Tamil'¹ is referred to in the Conspectus where we have the words 'We have stated it in the "Preface": it expounds Tamil'² and, the enumeration in the Special Preface of the 'Fruits of a study' of the treatise³ is referred to in the Extended Gloss, where again we are told 'We have stated it also in the Preface'⁴. But these links are very slender and almost imperceptible⁵. They can be removed without in the least affecting either the sense or the structure of the sentences in which they are now found: obviously, they are interpolations thrust in merely as linkages so as to throw us off the scent.

So far we have neglected the other portions of the commentary. But they yield information of striking value confirming the conclusions reached above.

One fact which catches our attention within even the first few pages of the commentary is the frequent reference to other

1. இந்துல் என்னுதலிற்றேவெனின் தமிழ் துதலியதென்பது.

I. AP. 1. B. 5.

2. இனி நானுதலியதூஉம் உரைக்கற்பாலது. அது பாயிரத்துள்ளே உரைத்தாம். தமிழ் துதலியதென்பது.

I. AP. 1. B. 18.

3. என்பயக்குமோ இது கற்கவெனின், வீடுபேறுபயக்குமென்பது.

I. AP. I. B. 12.

4. துறக்கம் வீடுபேறுகளை முடிக்குமாதலான்...அது பாயிரத்துள்ளும் உரைத்தாம்.

I, AP: I B. 30.

5. These links are pointed out Pandit M. Rēhava Aiyangār in S. T. IV. 307, and by Pandit M. Vāṅgaṭasāmi Nāṭṭār in his *Nak-Kīrar*², (1927), 52.

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schools of 'grammar'. Apparently the subject had been studied to such good purpose that a number of well-defined schools had arisen : this is nothing which need surprise us, for we have already noted that there should have been more than one school when the treatise itself was written. The 'grammars' mentioned specifically in the commentary are only the *Ahattiyam* and the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, and, of them, the *Ahattiyam* is merely referred to and is not quoted from, at all, but the *Tol-Kāppiyam* is quoted from, frequently. If the *Ahattiyam* was then a mere name and the *Tol-Kāppiyam* was the only "grammar" which held the field, how are we to explain the references in the commentary to opposing grammatical schools? Should we conclude that the references must be to the works of the other members of the Last Academy which failed to evoke the lachrymose approbation of the five¹ year old Moderator?

A large number of the quotations used as authorities for the grammatical positions taken up by the commentator are from the *Tol-Kāppiyam*,² and so well are they woven into the fabric of the Commentary that there can be little doubt that the *Tol-Kāppiyam* was a standard treatise of high authority in the days of this commentator. But there are a few quotations which seem to have come from an almost forgotten "grammarian" of the name of Pādalanār,³ and a larger number of quotations from other unidentifiable authorities.⁴ This is strong indication of there having been more "grammarians" in the days of the author of this Commentary than we have now knowledge of, and we have already pointed to indications showing that the treatise itself was written in an age which had seen much of 'grammatical' speculation. Indeed, it is scarcely likely that the specialised treatise on Love would have been attempted, had there not been a considerable volume of literature on 'Grammar'. If, none the less, the Commentary, in its accounts of the Academies, states that the "grammar" of the Last Academy was the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, it must be due to the accounts having been penned at a time when the *Tol-Kāppiyam* had attained a

1. Some of the references will be found in I. *AP. B.*, pp. 45, 53, 81, 85, 109, 110, 119, 125, 150, 152, 194, 203, 234, 237, 242, 251.

2. About 33 out of about 53.

3. They are 5 in number: see I. *AP. C.*, pp. 16—7 and *n.* 1.

4. The quotations number about 15.

position of such high authority as to have thrown the works of other authorities completely into the shade. When the *Tol-Kāppiyam* attained to such eminence, is a question on which it is hazardous now to venture a decided opinion. If we study the bare texts of the treatises of *Iraiyāṇār* and *Tol-Kāppiyar*, ignoring all the commentaries, we find that *Iraiyāṇār*'s special treatise on Love descends less into details and particulars than *Tol-Kāppiyar*'s general treatise on "grammar" in the corresponding chapters and that it presents a more general view of the subject.¹

This would be a remarkable circumstance if we postulated the anteriority of the special to the general treatise, for it is very unlikely that a special treatise on a subject would give a more general treatment of the subject than an anterior work which goes fully into details.

The identifiable quotations from literary, as distinguished from "grammatical", works are about 379 in number. Of these, about 41 come from the classics which are explicitly stated in the Commentary to have belonged to the Last Academy,² and about 9 come from works which are traditionally accepted as belonging to the period of the same institution. As all these quotations are to be found in those works as we have them now, our conclusion is reinforced that the commentator had before him practically that much alone of the ancient literature as we now have.³

The rest of the literary quotations, 329 in number, belong to a very interesting species of literary composition,—all of them quatrains in the *kaṭṭalaik-kalit-turai* mode,—and are excellent illustrations of the moods and phases of Love,—the subject-

1. The contrast is obvious even numerically: *Iraiyāṇār* denotes 33 aphorisms to the Love Clandestine while *Tol-Kāppiyar* has 50. In the section on the Love Marital, the former is content with 27 while the latter has as many as 53.

2. *Aha-Nānūru* (*Nedum-Tohai-Nānūru*) 26, 36, 117, 121, 130, 195, 203, 286

Nar-Tiṇai, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 34, 39, 45, 97, 99, 149, 227.

Kurum-Tohai-Nānūru, 1, 2, 7, 17, 43, 58, 71, 84, 115, 119, 128, 129, 149, 176, 212, 242, 362, 397.

Kalit-Tohai, 9, 39.

Aim-Kuru-Nūru, 399.

3. *Tiruk-Kural*, 57, 265, 292, 355, 1101.

Sila-p-padihāram, (*Kāṇal-vari*), 8, 9, 31, 13.

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matter of the treatise. Naturally, they serve the commentator's purpose admirably and he utilises them as apt illustrations of the rules he has to elucidate. Each of the stanzas is cast, quite in consonance with the conventions of Tamil rhetoric, in the form of a eulogy of a hero,—a hero as much in the popular acceptance of the term as in the language of the poetry of Love. Each of the quatrains has for its hero a king of the Pāṇḍiya dynasty of great prowess and many-sided attainments, though, occasionally, the hero is addressed as a Choḷa or a Chēra, apparently in virtue of his having conquered them and annexed their kingdoms. For a number of cogent reasons it has been generally accepted that all the 329 quatrains relate to the same hero and recount his achievements and that they must all have formed one literary work written in eulogy of a king of the Pāṇḍiya dynasty,—a king who must have been one of the most powerful of those who ever held sway over the Tamil land.

Compositions of this kind are not unknown to Tamil literature: in fact, the *Kōvai*, as it is called, is a work of a well recognised type, which is made up of 400 quatrains of the *kaṭṭalaik-kalit-turai* mode, composed in honour of a warrior of renown, the poet taking the liberty of representing him as also a hero of Love.¹ In all probability, the 329 quatrains we now have are only the vestiges of a work containing the full four hundred: indeed we first knew of only 315 quatrains.² This *Kōvai* or 'Sequence' of quatrains, is generally known as the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*,—the 'Sequence on the Pāṇḍiya'.³

(To be Continued).

1. *Panniru-Pāṭṭu-Iyal*, quoted by Narayanaswami Aiyar and Gopinatha Rao, (1938 J1.), xxxvii. 196, n.

2. I. AP. T.

3. Pandit M. Rāhava-Aiyaṅgār, *Ālvārkaḷ Kāla Nilai*.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM—AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION IN TWO VOLUMES by Mr. Subba Row, M. A., Published by S. Lakshmana Row and printed at Sri Vyāsa Press, Tirupati.

We have great pleasure in congratulating Mr. Subba Row on his translation into English of a work which must be pronounced, in spite of criticisms to the contrary, to be one of the masterpieces of Hindu Religious Literature. The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam is written in a difficult style and except in places where the style is simple and clear, it is difficult to understand without elucidation. Fortunately we have many commentaries from the pen of eminent scholars. Though these may disagree in the readings and in the interpretations given to various passages according to the schools of thought to which they owe allegiance, they help the reader considerably in the elucidation of the meanings of stanzas. Foremost among these is Śrīdhara, a profound scholar of great repute, who, though he adopts the Advaitic interpretation, is regarded by all as the standard commentator in this respect. Hence rightly, Mr. Subba Row has followed Śrīdhara for the main translation and gives as footnote the translations in accordance with the commentators of the other schools. In effect, as he says in the introduction to the book, there are three translations, according to the three systems of Hindu Vedantic Philosophy. The translation will give to readers unacquainted with Sanskrit a faithful idea of the contents of this great work and will prove of great value to the students of Sanskrit in understanding the original. All English-educated Hindus, therefore, must be profoundly grateful to Mr. Subba Row for the notable service he has rendered in making the magnificent spiritual lore embodied in this work accessible to all.

The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam belongs to the well-known type of Hindu Religious Literature called Purāṇa, of which there are eighteen in number including it and whose authorship is traditionally ascribed to Vedavyāsa. It has all the five usual characteristics of a Purāṇa. Its great popularity throughout India among all sects, its profound inspiration and its importance are due to the main theme of the work, namely, the enunciation of

the doctrine of the religious emotion of Bhakti especially inspired by the wonderful, magnetic and historic personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Though the Hari Vamśa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa have preceded it in depicting the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the greatness of the Bhāgavatam lies in the depth of emotion, the fervour of devotion and the ecstasy of joy which it breathes in every page in speaking of the Lord. Though, as a work of art, it lacks the beauty of the Rāmāyaṇa and its mellifluous style or the power, majesty and omniscience of the Mahābhārata, yet, in verve of thought, intensity of emotion and religious inspiration, it stands unrivalled. The whole work is concentrated on one theme and on one personality. A single purpose runs through all the chapters expounding the various systems of Hindu philosophy and the different *mārgas* for realization established by Hindu thought and practice, that of single-minded devotion to the Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his Lotus-feet. Critics have denounced the ruggedness of its style, the variety of its metres and its sense of taste. The Reverend Mr. J. N. Farquhar in his "*Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*" says that it contains "a long series of highly erotic passages which seem to consort ill with the high devotion to the Lord and the service of his saints." But to the devout Hindu it is one of the chief books of inspiration in the course of his religious life. The very passages to which Mr. Farquhar refers have inspired noble souls like Caitanya and Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa to austere penance and renunciation. The true and the only possible explanation for this curious phenomenon is that these passages, seemingly erotic to the ordinary mind, have a mystic meaning and purpose and are the outcome of a real religious experience.

It is true that "No theory of its date and origin yet advanced has been accepted by scholars as satisfactory." But one landmark, however, clearly appears, namely, that it attained its high place as an authoritative Purāṇa even by the beginning of the tenth century A. D. In his commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā, Abhinavagupta, the greatest literary critic in Sanskrit, has referred to the Bhāgavata as an authority (*vide* Nirṇaya sagara Edition of the Gītā with eight commentaries, Sarga 14, Śloka 8); and as Mr. Farquhar points out, "Alberuni gives us the list of the Purāṇas and mentions the Bhāgavata in it." Historians have fixed the date of completion of Alberuni's work on India as 1030 A.D. Scholars, however, note that Śaṅkara nowhere refers to the

Bhāgavata in all his works as he has done to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Likewise Rāmānuja has not referred to it. But this is not conclusive to show that it was not in existence during the time of Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja. That it is the latest of the Purāṇas may be surmised but it is by no means clear. One finds that the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, generally believed to be an early work, gives a list in which the Bhāgavata is mentioned.

It is also clear that the authorship of the work cannot be ascribed to Vopā Deva who flourished in circa 1300. A.D. Mr. Farquhar is of opinion that the work might have been written in the Tamil country because there is a passage in the Bhāgavata Māhātmyam of Padma Purāṇa, Chapter I, where Bhakti, incarnate as a young woman says "I was born in the Drāviḍa Country", and there is also a passage in the eleventh Skandha of the Bhāgavata, fifth Adhyāya, that great souls devoted to Nārāyaṇa would be born largely in the Drāviḍa Country. From these passages it is difficult to conclude that the work must have necessarily been written in the Tamil Country.

It is also difficult to accept the correctness of the statement in Rev. Mr. Farquhar's work that "the whole theory and practice of Bhakti is very different from the Bhakti of the Bhagavad Gītā." The Bhāgavata describes the essence of the Bhakti-Yoga in many places. As outlined therein one sees very little difference between this Bhakti and that described in the Bhakti-Yoga chapter of the Gītā.

In bringing out this work Mr. Subba Row must have spent a good portion of his hard-earned savings and his has been a labour of love. It behoves on all of us to see that this labour is requited. We can do no better than help him by buying his two volumes. They are, indeed, a valuable addition to every man's library and to the devout Hindu they are a desideratum. We have great pleasure, therefore, in recommending his work to the patronage of the reading public.

K. BALASUBRAMANI IYER.

SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU MEDICAL TREATMENT by Dorothea Chaplain, Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London.
(Crown 16vo- pp. 71—price 3s. 6d.)

At a time when the medical profession in India is indignant at the recent decision of the General Medical Council in refusing

to recognize the medical degrees of Indian Universities, a book of the present nature is sure to draw pointed attention to the achievements of Ancient India in the medical field. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that it is from the pen of a European who was cured of "exophthalmic goitre" by an eminent Āyurvedic physician, Dr. Mitra. India should be grateful to Dr. Mitra for introducing Hindu Medicine in London and for successfully demonstrating its efficacy.

The author was a student of Dr. Mitra for about four years and has acquired a good grip over the fundamentals of the Hindu system of the Āyurveda treatment. The book is intended to revive the study of the Āyurveda system, which is, of late, being neglected by a vast majority of Hindu medical practitioners. The main difference between this system and the Western method is brought to light in such a lucid manner that even an English doctor, however, prejudiced he may be, will not find it difficult to realise and recognize the advantages of the Hindu medical treatment over his own. "For centuries—not decades, as in the case of Western medical science the Hindu has practically carried on his investigations." The Āyurveda system urges that "there is a common cause which upsets the balance of the different organs and symptoms" and that is the reason why the Hindu physician "first attacks, not the manifestation of a particular disease, but the root cause of all diseases and disorders", while the Westerners believe in 'specific' treatment for 'specific disease'.

Most of the Hindu medicines are derived from plants while a few are compounds of Mercury, Iron, Copper, Silver, Gold and Coral. "The action of these Hindu medicines is like the working of Nature; they produce the desired effect imperceptibly." A further knowledge in Europe and America of the Hindu system might obviate, in many cases, surgical operation which is but an artificial cure.

Last, but not the least, is the system of psychotherapy which is still successfully practised by some of the Hindu physicians and to which the author devotes more than a section besides narrating in the end two interesting stories that are made use of in the course of the treatment. Dr. Mitra rightly remarks in his *Hindu Treatment of Nerve Disorders and other Ailments* that "Physiological and psychological actions in the human system are so inextricably inter-woven that to the Hindu

specialist physiology divorced from psychology would be too crude to deserve the name of science." The book is neatly got up but probably printed in haste as is evident from a few printers' devils.

T. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Research student 1923-1927, University of Madras, Now Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, Published by the University of Madras.

This book which embodies the work of the author as a research student of the Madras University is a synthetic statement of the conditions which prevailed in the ancient Hindu states, centuries before the dawn of civilization in the West. Though it must be admitted that the conditions which then prevailed were much simpler and not so complex as at the present day, it is interesting to see how many of the most advanced conceptions of the modern day had their prototype in those ancient times. To start with, it seems to have been recognised that in return for the allegiance of the subject, the sovereign was bound to protect the subject in the enjoyment of his civil rights, a juridical conception which has received the highest judicial sanction in recent years. Coming to the fiscal administration the idea of raising a war loan in times of war, preliminary estimates of budgets, travelling allowances to officers of government and leave allowances, seems to be as familiar to the ancient Hindu states as under the present administration.

The learned author has clearly shown how the ancient Hindu Ruler was not a despot, as is sometimes believed, but was a constitutional monarch working under the rules of the constitution. Indeed, a state document of any importance had to be signed by the King after it passed through the various high officers of state who gave their opinion on the question raised. Before coming to the throne, the King had to learn the work of the various departments of the state and even preliminary to this, he had to receive his education under his teachers away from his royal parents and deprived of the luxuries of the palace. Even with such training, there were, of course, bad Kings who were expelled and in some cases, new dynasties were founded, as

was done in England by the Revolution of 1688. It is of some significance to note that the consultative council of the Hindu King was composed of four Brahmins, three Śūdras and one *sūta*, which would go to demonstrate the hollowness of the assumption that the priestly class by their influence kept down the Śūdras in the ancient days from taking part in the highest administrative machinery of the state. The author has also shown that there is no basis for the suggestion by even some learned persons that there was in the olden days a conflict between the Purohit and the King indicating the struggle between the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas in those days, a suggestion which rests on their own statements rather than on any evidence tending in that direction.

He has also shown how the feudal conception that all land was owned by the King and that subjects can only hold land under the crown was wholly foreign to the ancient Hindu system which recognised private ownership of land to the fullest extent. On the question of salt duty which is agitating the public mind at the present day in India to an enormous extent, the learned author says at page 176 of the work that it was not wholly absent in ancient India.

Books like the one by Mr. Dikshitar who is most competent to deal with the subject and based on acknowledged sources will tend to remove many of the popular misconceptions on the various topics and the University of Madras has done a great service in publishing this work under its authority.

C. A. SESHAGIRI SASTRI.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE—
GUNTUR DISTRICT by T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., 44 Plates
XII. Price Rs. 2—12—0.

The authorities of the Government Museum Madras, deserve to be heartily congratulated on the inauguration of the publication of Bulletins embodying the results achieved by the members of the various departments of the museum in their respective fields. The Bulletin under review deals with the Buddhist sculptures from a Stūpa excavated near Goli in the Guntur District. To Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, the author of the Bulletin, great credit is due for having brought together much of valuable

material bearing upon the history of Buddhist art in the Andhra Countries in the early centuries of the Christian era. The importance of Goli was first noted by Dr. Sewell, who, as early as 1882, said that the place Mallvaram (Goli was so termed by him) was very important from the point of view of Buddhism, for the remains of a Stūpa could be seen there. In 1926 Dr. Dubreuil, Professor at Pondicherry, went to the site, discovered the stūpa and excavated portions of it. Some of the specimens so dug out were brought over to the Museum at Madras.

The subject-matter of most of the Buddhist sculptures happens to be the birth story of the Buddha, called Jātaka tales. The sculptures at Amarāvati, at Sāñci, and other places bear ample testimony to this fact. Those at Goli are no exception and the author of the present monograph has, with astuteness and patience, identified the various friezes as exhibiting the known incidents in the life of the Buddha. It has been said that the various sculptures at Sāñci, Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeta etc., all represent the life of the Buddha and it should be noted that there is much in common between the Goli and Amarāvati sculptures. The author of the monograph has shown in a tabular statement on pp. 24-35 points of agreement between the sculptures at Goli and Amarāvati. Scholars familiar with the Amarāvati sculptures may be aware of the four periods into which they are generally classified. The Goli sculptures find their parallels in all the four periods, though they correspond mainly to those belonging to the fourth period. The main datum for the author for determining the age of the Goli sculptures is the similarity between them and those at Amarāvati.

In dealing with the dates of the Amarāvati Stupa, Dr. Burgess has declared that one "has to depend on a long and a wide experience of styles of sculpture, architecture, paleography and the like to lead him to an approximate date". We may add that inscriptions when used properly may serve to be the most potent factor in determining the date. In the present case, the style of the sculptures and the few letters that are to be seen in an inscription preserved in a fragmentary condition enable us to determine the date. The style enables us to assign the Stūpa at Goli to the fourth period of the Amarāvati Stūpa. How epigraphy too warrants the same conclusion through a comparison of the Brāhmī characters that are found in the fragmentary inscriptions at Goli and those of the Ikṣvākus at Jaggayyapeta, is shown by the

author on p. 41 of the work. Whatever may be the purport of the fragmentary inscription, the fact is certain that the script in the Goli inscription discloses some archaic features as compared with the script used in the inscriptions of Jaggayyapeta. Mr. Ramachandran argues that the two varieties of the scripts must have been in use in the same period in the history of Indian epigraphy, though the Jaggayyapeta Brāhmī shows a greater amount of perfection and symmetry than the Brāhmī of Goli. The difference need not necessarily be the result of the intervention of a long period of time; it is, however, possible that some time at least should have intervened. Thus, if Mr. Ramachandran would suggest the third century as the possible date of the Goli Stūpa, one is tempted to put it back by at least a century more.

The work under review has been neatly got up and the plates are neatly printed. The adoption of the modern system of scientific transliteration would have considerably enhanced the value of the work.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

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SELECT OPINIONS.

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your New Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Keil University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Keil, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles : a pretty start !

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

Indian Review, November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. The influence of Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning.

"New India," 20th December, 1926.— The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

The Madras Mail, 21st January, 1927.— The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work.

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.— It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.

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All to
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GRĀMA.

AN EXAMINATION OF A NEW INTERPRETATION.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has proposed a new interpretation of the word *grāma*. He says:¹ "I have shown that the word *grāma* or other synonymous term used in those (old Hindu) records does not mean village, town or city, but an estate, or a 'survey village' or *mauza*. I believe this to be the first time that such an interpretation has been assigned to the word *grāma*." It will be readily admitted that if the new interpretation of Dr. Prāṇ Nāth be well-founded and if it stands the test of criticism, we may have to revise many of the current notions on matters relating to the details of social, economic and political life of Ancient India; and it is the object of this paper to examine the nature of the evidence adduced by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth for his view and the soundness of his interpretation.

It may be observed at the outset that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears unconsciously to overstate his case when he claims to have shown that the word *grāma* does not mean village, town or city. It would be enough for his purpose to prove that *grāma* also means 'an estate' in some of its uses, besides meaning 'a village' (no one has ever supposed that it meant a town or city) in its other applications. For his main object is to find a rational way of understanding the numbers attached to the names of countries and districts,² like Banavāsi 12,000 and Raṭṭapāḍi 75,00,000 in the inscriptions mainly of the Karnāṭaka country. This he may proceed to do without seeking to deny the correctness of the meaning in which the word *Grāma* has been most persistently applied since the Vedic times in all the literature of the country,

1. A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XX, 1929 p. 3.

2. *op. cit.* p. 24.

secular and religious, viz. a village.¹ And it would seem that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's regret that "all the translators of the ancient Indian law books should have committed the mistake of translating *grāma* everywhere by the English word 'village'" is somewhat misplaced. It will be shown below that the legal texts quoted and discussed by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth are easily understood by interpreting *grāma* in the usual sense and that they do not receive any fresh elucidation from the new sense discovered by our author.

The figures quoted above have exercised the minds of several writers before, and despite Dr. Fleet's protest against it,² the interpretation that has received more general acceptance than any other is that these figures have reference to the revenue resources of the regions concerned, probably assessed and standardised at some time and in a manner of which we have, as yet, no information. In dealing with the Administration of the Mysore country under the early Hindu rulers this is, for instance what Mr. Lewis Rice says:³ "The chief divisions of the country had each their revenue value affixed to their name sometimes the numerical designation alone was used, without naming the country. Thus many of the oldest inscriptions speak of the Ninety-six Thousand, and others described certain kings as ruling seven-and-a-half-lakh region. A similar name still survives in that of one of the present taluqs of Coorg, which is called the Yēlusāviraṣīme or the Seven Thousand country. Whether the reckoning has reference to the amount of revenue realised, as seems likely, or to extent of cultivation or to what other denomination of value, is not certain. The nomenclature still lingers in parts of the Malnad, where I was told by an inferior native official that his jurisdiction extended over fourteen villages which constituted, according to the custom of the place, a thousand country." Mr. Rice also adds a note saying "An old report explains the terms thus:—A country yielding 100 *niṣka* (said to be pagodas) is called a *sīmā* or *kṣetra* etc." But this merits some further attention.

1 See s. v. *Grāma* in 'A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture' by Dr. P. K. Ācārya.

2. *op. cit.* pp. 24-25.

3. Mysore, i. p. 574 (1897).

Dr. Fleet opposed the interpretation suggested by Mr. Rice on the ground that there were indications in some of the inscriptions that these figures referred to 'grāmas' in some cases and that in all others they referred to villages rather than revenue assessment or area of cultivation. The inscriptions on which he based his argument were:—

i. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-5 (ed. Fleet)—mentioning 'the three Mahārāṣṭras, containing ninety-nine thousand villages'. *Mahārāṣṭrakāṇām nava-navati-sahasragrāma-bhājām trayāṇām* (I. A. viii, pp. 244 and 242).

ii. The Śilāhāra record of A. D. 1026 (ed. Buhler) which speaks of the 'Konkan containing 1400 villages' *Catur-daśa-grāma-śata-samanvitam sawagra-koṅkāṇa-bhuvam* (I. A. v. pp. 280 and 278).

iii. Another Śilāhāra record of 1095 (ed. Telang) where the text has *Caturdaśa-śata-koṅkāṇābhhyantareṣu* (I. A. ix. p. 35) and translation is only 'Koṅkan fourteen hundred', a note being added by Telang saying 'Villages, of course' (I. A. ix. p. 38).

iv. An inscription from Patna (ed. Kielhorn) of about A. D. 1222 mentioning 'the country of the sixteen hundred villages' *Sa ṣoḍaśa-śatagrāma-deśam-durga-purānvitam* (E. I. i. p. 345). and

v. A Raṭṭa inscription, from Belgaum (ed. Fleet) of A. D. 1219-20, in which 'the meaning of the name of the territorial division, called the Vēḷugrāma or Vēṇugrāma seventy, is explained by a passage which describes Vēḷugrāma as 'resplendent with seventy villages' *Eppattene sandirpūrgaḷim śōbhīpa*' J. B. B. R. A. S. X. 252.

Of these it will readily be seen that No. iii (above) is of no value in deciding the significance of the figure as the text only gives the figure and does not contain the word *grāma*. It will be also noticed that all the other instances except No. ii are in verse; and with the exception of No. i which is in verse, they are rather late references. It may also be observed in passing that Vēṇugrāma seventy was the capital city of a Raṭṭa chief and that the verse describing the city distinctly says that the capital excels all other cities on earth as it has been formed out of the union of seventy villages; and in the other instances the connection of *grāma* with the aggregate is not so unequivocally indicated. One may well hesitate to draw the inference from such evidence that

all the figures coming after names of territories including the well known Raṭṭapāḍi 75,00,000 necessarily indicate the number of *grāmas* in the regions named. Dr. Fleet himself felt a difficulty and said: "These large numbers must be gross exaggerations, based possibly on some traditions or myths. But there appears no reason for objecting to accept the literal meaning of such more reasonable applications as 'the Koṅkaṇ fourteen hundred and-nine-hundred' etc."¹ It is at this point that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, while he is inclined to agree with Fleet's view that the figures refer to *grāmas*, objects to his rather arbitrary method of accepting the more reasonable figures and rejecting others as mythical or exaggerated. And his claim is that the new interpretation of *grāma* proposed by him has the merit of furnishing a reasonable explanation of all the figures, large and small, attached to names of territorial divisions.

We may now turn to consider the evidence on which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth bases his interpretation. The oldest and apparently, in his estimate, the most important authority in support of his view is a statement in a commentary of the Prajñāpana-upāṅga, a Jain canonical work which runs: '*gāma-ñivēsesu*' ityādi, *grasati buddhyādīn guṇān ili grāmaḥ, yadi vā gamyaḥ śāstra-prasiddhānām aṣṭādaśa-karāṇām ili grāmaḥ*,² which may be rendered thus: "*gāma-ñivēsesu* etc.: That which seizes the qualities like *buddhi* etc., is *grāma*; alternatively, that which is suitable for the eighteen *karas* well-known in the *śāstras* is a *grāma*." It will be seen that the commentary gives as the primary sense of the word *grāma* the meaning of "the senses" in which the word is commonly employed in Jain canonical literature³; and then, in view of the context in which the word occurs in the *upāṅga*, there is given an alternative meaning. But one fails to see how even this alternative interpretation furnishes any support to Mr. Prāṇ Nāth's contention. For what are the eighteen kinds of taxes that are said to be reputed in the *śāstras*? The *śāstras* referred to by these Jain *ācāryas* must be taken to refer to Jain canonical literature, as there does not appear to have been any established convention on this subject known to the Hindu law books. Turning to the article in the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* on 'Kara' we get the necessary explanation.

1. Quoted by Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* p. 25.

2. *op. cit.* p. 26.

3. Monier-Williams Sans. Dic. S. V. *Grāma*

There¹ we find the author quoting, as usual, two ancient *prākṛt* *gāthās* on the subject and giving an explanation, in Sanskrit, enumerating the 18 kinds of taxes *viz*: 1. *Gōkara* 2. *Mahaṣikara* 3. *Uṣṭrakara* 4. *Paśukara* 5. *Chāgalikara* 6. *Tṛṇakara* 7. *Palālakara* 8. *Busakara* 9. *Kāṣṭhakara* 10. *Aṅgārakara* 11. *Sitākara* 12. ² *Umbarakara* 13. *Jaṅghākara* 14. *Balāvardakara* 15. *Ghaṭakara* 16. *Karmakara*³ 17. *Bullagakara* 18. A tax different from the foregoing and improvised according to circumstances.⁴

After this explanation, one may venture to suggest that these taxes might as well be the objects of collection from villages as from individual estates. In fact one may go further and hold that considering that as many as eighteen imposts are involved, it is more likely that an entire village including inhabitants of various castes and occupations was the subject of so many imposts rather than an individual estate. This extract from the canonical literature of the Jains does not therefore furnish the meaning which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth asserts it does *viz*: "an estate or a survey village which can pay eighteen kinds of Government taxes."

The next authority cited by our author is the modern *Prākṛt* Lexicon, the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, of Vijayarājendrasūri (called Vijayacandra by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth), A.D. 1827-1907. From the very learned and equally interesting article on *gāma-grāma* Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has made a long extract and printed it as a note on p. 27 of his book. But once more, the most careful study of the extract or indeed of the entire article fails to reveal any support for the contention of our author. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, indeed, asserts that the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* also "defines *grāma* as an estate which can pay eighteen kinds of government taxes or which is assessed separately for revenue purposes." This definition in the original runs: "*Gamyō gamanīyo'sṭādaśānām śāstre prasiddhānām karāṇām iti vyutpattiyā, grasate vā buddhyādīn guṇān*

1. Vol. 3, p. 356, col. 2.

2. Apparently a tax on each house. *umbarō dehaṭi*.

3. Profession-tax?

4. *Aṣṭādaśa karasyotpattih svakalpanā-śilpa-nirmitā: pūrvokta sapta-daśa-kara-vyatirikta-svecchayā kalpitah aṣṭādaśah karah, sa cauttika iti prasiddhah.* (ibid.) One may wonder if this is not a misinterpretation of the phrase *Aṭṭārasamākaruppattī* in the *gāthā* which may, after all, mean nothing more than that the eighteenth tax had relation to mines (*Ākara*).

iti vyutpattyā vā pr̥ṣodarādityānniruktavidhinā grāmaḥ." The words used here are almost identical with those in the commentary of the Prajñāpana-upāṅga; only the order of the two methods in which the word can be derived is reversed and the *grāma* is described first as the subject of the eighteen imposts and then as the sense organs. There is therefore no more support for the meaning of "estate" in this text than can be found in the other.

Indeed, it would appear that the author of the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* leaves no room for doubt as to his meaning. For he adds within a few lines of the definition quoted above, the clear and unmistakable words: "*Jīvānām gomahiṣī manusyādīnām ajīvānām ca grhādīnām yaḥ samudāyaḥ sa dravyagrāma ucyate,*"¹ meaning: "that is called *dravyagrāma* which (comprises) a collection of live things like cows, buffaloes, men etc. and things which are not living, like houses." And it is not a little surprising that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, though he quotes this text, should have so completely ignored its import in his discussion of the word. But that is not all. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears altogether to have misunderstood the discussion in the article on *grāma* on which he builds so much. Vijayarājendra quotes an old mnemonic *gāthā* which, in the style of a *sūtra*, sums up a long discussion of the different views about the extent of the *grāma* and the reasons underlying them, and then proceeds to explain it more fully in Sanskrit, giving out the details of argument in each case as it comes up. He introduces the stanza saying: "*Tatrāneka-vidha-naigamānām anyānyapi pakṣāṇi yāni vaktavyāni tāni nāma-grāham samgrhṇan āha.*" Then comes the verse and the enumeration of the ten points to be made, followed by the remark: "*iti niryuktigāthā²-kṣarārthaḥ.*" *Atha bhāvārtha ucyate.* All this is reproduced by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth and yet, he understands the *gāthā* as giving directly and by itself ten different senses in which the word *grāma* may be used, and says categorically: "The word was used in the remotest period of Indian history in ten different meanings, viz. (1) cows (*gāvah*) (2) grasses (*tr̥ṇāni*); (3) boundary (*sīmā*); (4) plea-

1. It may be explained that all our discussion (Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's and mine) refers only to *dravyagrāma* of the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*. The other *grāmas* mentioned or discussed are *Nāmagrāma*, *sthāpānagrāma*, *Bhūtāgrāma*, *Ātodyagrāma*, *Indriyāgrāma*, *Pitṛgrāma* and *Bhāva-grāma*.

2. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth prints '*Niryukti*' which is wrong.

sure-garden (*ārāma*); (5) well (*udapāna*); (8) temple (*deva-kula*); (9) an estate (*avagraha*); (10) owner (*adhipati*).¹ As a matter of fact the *gāthā*¹ which is so interpreted by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is the subject of an elaborate commentary in the article under reference in the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* and is not easy to understand except in the light of that comment. It will be observed that according to the introductory sentence just preceding the *gāthā* (quoted above), it sums up by means of representative nouns (*nāmagrāham saṅgrhṇan*) the different views to be mentioned in the sequel (*vaktavyāni*). And according to the commentary which follows, the first seven nouns in the *gāthā* up to and including *vāhi* fence) relate to a discussion of the extent of the village which is concluded with the words: *Evam vicitrābhiprāyāṇām pūrvanaigamānām sarvā api pratipattir vyapohya sarva viśuddha-naigama-nayasya yāvān vṛti-parikṣēpa-parivṛto bhūbhāgas-tāvān grāma ucyate.* that is to say, 'thus having negatived all the views of the *naigamas* mentioned earlier, we conclude with the view of the best *naigama* that the term *grāma* is applied to that portion of land which is surrounded by a fence raised on all sides.' The other views that have been rejected are: (a) that the term *grāma* may imply all the area over which the cows of a locality wander for grazing, (b) that it may refer only to the area over which people wander to gather grass, fuel and others.

Dr. Prāṇ Nāth writes²: "Take, for instance, the first meaning 'cows'. There was a body of scholars (*naigamāḥ*) who believed that *grāma* meant an estate containing an area as large as that of a pasture-ground. They defined *grāma* as an estate (*kṣetra*) where cows go to graze." The text which is thus rendered by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is this: "*Yāvāntam bhūbhāgam gavaś-caritum vrajati tāvān sarvō'pi grāma iti vyapadēśam labhate.*" This statement cannot by any means yield the meaning attributed to it by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth. The idea of an estate is altogether absent in the text and is imported only by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's imagination. He seems, however, to have been partially misled by a reference to this view occurring a few lines later in the phrase '*yadyapi gavām gōcarakṣetrād—ā sannataram bhūbhāgam*' etc.: but in this context *kṣetra* does not mean a field or an estate, but has

1. *Gāṇḍī tanūḥ sīmā ārāmam udapāna ceṭa-rupaṇi vāhīya vana-mantara vuggaha tattid ya āhipati.*

2. p. 28, op. cit.

the more general meaning of 'region'. And the view of the *naigama* which, by the way, need not necessarily mean a 'body of scholars,' can only be understood as in (a) at the end of the preceding paragraph. It is unnecessary and it would be tedious to pursue the other inaccuracies in our author's summary of the discussion in the Prākṛt Lexicon. It is enough to say that there is no support whatever in the passages cited and discussed by him for the new interpretation he proposes for the word *grāma*.

For the sake of completeness we may sum up the rest of the discussion on *dravyagrāma* here. There are three other *pakṣas* given: (1) that of *saṅgrahanaya*, by which, *grāma* means *devakula*, *sabhā*, *goṣṭha* or *prapā*, (no. 8 in Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's list); (2) that of the *Rjusūtranaya* which equates *grāma* apparently with a person's house-property;—the text being "*Rjusūtrasya-svakīyārthagrāhakatvāt pāraṁ—vasatō'pyanabhyupagamāt yasya yatpratyekam-ātmīyagraharūpam ekaikam grham tat niyōga iti pratipattavyam. Niyōga iti grāma iti caikorthaḥ.*" and lastly, (3) that of the *śabdanaya* by which *grāma* is applied to the overlord (*adhipati*) of the village. It will be seen then Nos. 9 and 10 in Dr. Prāṇ Nath's list of different meanings correspond to (2) and (3) just preceding.

It is very surprising indeed that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth should not have given any attention to the view expounded under *Rjusūtranaya* which appears at first sight to make the nearest approach to the new meaning he seeks to impose on the word *grāma*. He simply translates *vaggaha* in the *gāthā* into 'estate' (he does not say on what authority) and leaves the matter there. But does the comment quoted *verbatim* in the last paragraph lead to the meaning of estate? A literal translation of the passage may be offered: 'As the *rjusūtra* conveys the idea of one's property and disapproves even living (on) another's, that which to a person is exclusively his (in his own *avagraha*)'

1. *Avagraha* is simple and direct perception defined in Jaina epistemics as: *viśaya-viśayi-sannipātū-nantara-samud-bhūta-sattū-mātra-gōcara-darśanū-jjātam-ādya-mavāntara-sāmānyākāra—viśiṣṭa-vastu-grahaṇa-mavagrahaḥ. Abhi. Rāj. I. 788 col. 2.* The point of view of the *Rjusūtranaya* is brought out best in the following: *yat-sāmpṛatam-utpannam vartamānakūlīnam vastu yacca yasya pratyekam-ātmīyam tadētatubhaya-svarūpam vastu pratiutpannam ucyate. Tadevāsau nayati prati-padyate, tadāva vartamanam-ātmīyam vastu tasyarju-sūtranyasya āsti—op. cit. II, 742 col. 2.*

every such house is a *niyōga*: and *niyōga* and *grāma* have both the same meaning. It is thus seen that this peculiar use of the word *grāma* does not mean anything more than a house owned and used by a person.

In all this, and it will be remembered that we have been considering most of the time a discussion in a late nineteenth century lexicon, there is nothing at all to warrant Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's new interpretation of the word *grāma* and he cites no authority, none whatever, for the sweeping assertions he makes in the following :¹ "In the time of the great Guptas, and even many centuries prior to them, it appears that the word *grāma* was used in official records for an estate, and in poetical and literary works for a village or settlement. A discussion arose among scholars with regard to its technical meaning. They agreed that the word *grāma* meant an estate, whether cultivated, fallow, or *Jāṅgal*, but they differed as to the size or area to which it referred." What are the data from which Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is led to infer a divergence in the sense in which the word *grāma* was used in official records and in literature? How does he come to the conclusion that this divergence arose in the age of the great Guptas and (centuries do not apparently matter much) even many centuries prior to them? What is the source of the learned writer's statements about the discussion that arose among the scholars of old and the conclusion they reached in anticipation of Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's researches? Until these questions get satisfactory answers, the statements quoted from Dr. Prāṇ Nāth earlier in this paragraph can hardly find credence. Surely they furnish no proof of his thesis.

It must now have become clear that the literary evidence adduced from Jain sources by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth does not carry him anywhere near his conclusion. The meanings attributed to *grāma* generally are (a) the sense-organs, which is the primary sense of the term in Jaina canonical literature and (b) village, as ordinarily understood. In the only instances in which a narrower application of the word is indicated, the meanings given are : (1) a temple, cowshed or watershed (2) a house (the phrase *ekaikam grham* must be noticed) used by its owner and (3) the overlord of a village. There is a far cry from any of these to the new meaning of 'estate' suggested by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth.

1. *op. cit.* p. 26.
IV—29

However, being satisfied that he has, by means of his references to Jaina literature, sufficiently supported his new interpretation, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth proceeds to apply his result to some ancient inscriptions and legal texts in order to prove that his meaning renders more intelligible what has been hitherto vague, confused and ill-understood. It is necessary to take up these instances one by one and see how far the claim is just.

His first instance is the short inscription no. 20 in the Nāsik caves. The text is :

Nāsikakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

This was translated by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji into : "The gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsika" and he naturally wondered how a village was given by the people of a city as it was usual only for kings to do so.¹ Dr. Prāṇ Nāth observes : "The difficulty here vanishes if we understand the word *grāma* as meaning an estate" and proceeds to quote the *Dānamayūkha* on the merits of free gifts of land. He is evidently not aware that the difficulty in this inscription vanished many years ago when M. Senart re-edited the inscription and translated it into : "The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nasik people" and observed that the entrance to the cave was decorated with a horse shoe arch at the common expense of the people of a portion of the township of Nāsik.² In other words the gift made was the arch-way under which the inscription is found and not a *grāma*.

The next instance does not fare better. It is a quotation from the Nāsik cave inscriptions no. 5: '*ta ca kṣetram vikṣyate sa ca grāmo na vasati evam sati*,' which according to Dr. Prāṇ Nāth means : "it was thought that that field would be cultivated; but as that field (*sa ca grāmo*) is not under cultivation so"; from this two conclusions are drawn by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth : (1) *Kṣetra* could be described as *grāma* and (2) *vasati* means 'cultivation' as well as 'habitation.'³ This is a pitiable instance of the extent to which a scholar might be misled by preconceived notions or by a hankering after originality. In reality this inscription records the kings' order to his officers to give some land in the neighbourhood of the city to some *bhikṣus* in lieu of other land

1. Bom. Gaz. xvi, p. 590 quo. Prāṇ Nāth pp. 28—9.

2. E. I. viii, p. 92.

3. *op. cit.* p. 29.

which had been given to them before, but which was located in an uninhabited village. If anything, in this inscription the distinction between *grāma* and *kṣetra* is most carefully maintained and it is unfortunate that this very inscription should have been taken by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth to point to the opposite conclusion. A longer extract from the text than has been given by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth and Pandit Bhagavan Lal's translation of the same may be reproduced to make the position clear to the reader :¹

“*Bhikṣubhyo grāme kakhadyām pūrvakṣetram dattam tacca kṣētram vikṣyate sa ca grāmo na vasati evam sati yadidānīmatra nagarasīmni rājakam kṣetram asmatsatkam tata etasya (sic) pravrajitebhyo bhikṣubhyastriraśmikebhyo dadmaḥ kṣetrasya nivartanaśatam.*”

“We had given a field in the east of the village of Kakhadi to the mendicants. That field is being cultivated (but) the village is uninhabited. Such being the case we now give a hundred *nivartanas* of the royal field in our possession on the confines of the city to the recluse medicants of Tiraśmi.”

The contrast between *kṣetra* and *grāma* cannot be more emphatically brought out than by their first mention in this inscription followed by the phrases *tacca kṣetram* and *sa ca grāma* which relate respectively to the *pūrvakṣetra* and *kakhadi* village mentioned before.

Again Dr. Prāṇ Nāth says²: “The definition given by the *kāmikāgama*, *karaṇāgama* and *Mayamata* of the *ekabhoga-grāma* or *Kuṭika grāma* also shows that *grāma* means an ‘estate.’ According to them an *ekabhogagrāma* means a property or an estate which can be enjoyed by one family, consisting of the owner and his servants.” This is, indeed, strange reasoning. Because some books apply the name *ekabhoga-grāma* to a *grāma* enjoyed by one owner and his servants therefore *grāma* means ‘estate’! One should rather be led to infer that a *grāma* usually has not one owner enjoying it but several owners and that the adjective *ekabhoga* is intended to mark off the special kind of

1. Bom. Gaz. xvi, p. 561. See also E. I. viii, pp. 73—4. M. Senart prefers to read *na kasate* for *va kasate* in the Prākṛt original of the inscription and to translate “but this field is not tilled ; nor is the village inhabited.”

2. *op. cit.* p. 29.

grāma under reference from the more ordinary *grāmas*. This means again, that ordinarily *grāma* means a village in the ordinary sense of the term and not 'estate.' In other words, in an *ekabhogagrāma* as everybody knows the *grāma* is the estate; the ordinary *grāma* is made up of many estates of varying sizes.

Lastly, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth quotes the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* and *Kaṭīlyā* in his support and also holds that¹ "going further back to the period of the *vedas* and *uṇiṣads* we find that the word *grāma* was used more clearly for an estate." We may at once dismiss the reference to the *vedas* and *uṇiṣads* as beside the point; none of the citations made by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is such as could not be easily interpreted without the aid of his new meaning for the word *grāma*; nor does this new meaning bring any fresh light to our aid in understanding the texts concerned. These texts and others of much greater significance from Vedic literature have been subjected to an exhaustive discussion by the authors of the Vedic Index² in their article on *grāma*, a reference to which will show clearly that this word is not once used anywhere in the sense of 'an estate.' Dr. Prāṇ Nāth is equally wrong in the way in which he interprets a comment on a *sūtra* in Bodhāyana. The *sūtra*³ has "*grāmante grāma-sīmānte vā*" and here it is necessary to distinguish between *grāma* and *grāma-sīmā* and this is the comment: "*grāmānto vāstu sīmā Itarāḥ kṣetrasīmā*" which means "*grāmānta* is the boundary of the living part of the village (*vāstu*); the other (*grāmasīmānta*) is the boundary of the (cultivated) fields (of the village)." This meaning does not satisfy Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's requirements and he asserts that *vāstu* "is defined by *Kaṭīlyā* 'as an estate containing land, garden, house and well etc.'"; unfortunately the text of *Kaṭīlyā*, which is quoted by him also, is quite against this view: "*Gṛham kṣetram ārāmas-setubandhas taṭākam ādhāro vā vāstuh.*" Here, the *vā* in *Kaṭīlyā*'s sentence shows that *vāstu* is the name applied to every one of the things mentioned before—house, garden, field, tank etc. and not the name of all of them taken together and constituting an estate; and Dr. Shama Sastry has rightly translated this into:⁴ "Houses, fields, gardens, buildings

1. *op. cit.* pp. 30-3.

2. See Macdonnell, & Keith—Vedic Index s. v. *grāma*.

3. See Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* p. 32.

4. Shama Sastri's Eng. Transl. of *Kaṭīlyā*, 1915, p. 211.

of any kind (*setubandhaḥ*), lakes and tanks are each called *vāstu*." All the other references to Kauṭilya's use of the word *grāma* that are made by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth do not by any means strengthen his case any the better. In most of these instances the meaning 'village' gives much better sense (e. g. *Paragrāma*—enemy village in *prakaraṇa* 171) than the meaning 'estate'; and in no instance is there any difficulty in adopting the usual meaning.

We have reserved to the end the discussion of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* text quoted by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth. It is this:¹

Sāmanlā vā samagrāmāś-catvāro'stau daśāpi vā |

Raktasragvasanāḥ sīmām nayeyuḥ kṣīti dhārīṇaḥ ||

Here according to Dr. Prāṇ Nāth, *Samagrāmāḥ* can only mean 'having equal estates.' Otherwise, he says, we are led to postulate 'an absurd system of administration in ancient India' by which the affairs of every village would have been meddled with by men from forty other villages and landowners would have been meddled with by men from forty other villages and landowners would 'have been forced to wander about from one village to another and neglect their own estates.'² The steps by which this *reductio ad absurdum* is reached are these. If *grāma* does not mean 'estate' it should mean 'village'; and *sāmagrāmāḥ* then would mean 'people possessing equal villages.' Then there is a statement of Kauṭilya that disputes about *vāstu* (see the proceeding paragraph) should be settled with the aid of neighbours (*sāmanta*); there is another statement that the sale of land and other immoveable property should be effected in the presence of forty disinterested neighbours. Dr. Prāṇ Nāth mixes up these statements of Kauṭilya with the text of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* in order to arrive at this astounding statement of his opponents' case:³ "Interpreting *samagrāmāḥ* as denoting people possessing equal villages, would mean that disputes, sales and purchases etc. connected with a field in a village, were to be settled by the people living in other villages or, in other words, that each village was governed by a group of forty villages. The constituent villages of the group would vary in the case of different villages; and if two or

1. Yāj. II, 152 (*Mitākṣara*) and 156 (*Viśvarūpa*. Triv. Sans. Series.

2. Prāṇ Nāth *op. cit.* pp. 30-1.

3. *op. cit.* p. 31.

more disputes or sales, etc., were going on simultaneously, the inconvenience and difficulties arising from such a regulation may readily be conceived!" In his haste to find fault with another interpretation of *samagrāmāḥ*, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth appears to have so far lost his bearings as to introduce the number forty from Kāuṭilya's text into the verse from the *smṛti* in utter forgetfulness of the other numbers—'four, eight or ten'—mentioned in the verse itself! Again, if we turn to see how this verse is understood by the jurists who have interpreted the text of the *smṛti*, we find that none of them understands *samagrāmāḥ* to mean 'people possessing equal villages', so that, after all, Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's ingenious discussion has not touched the real meaning of the text. Viśvarūpa understands *samagrāmāḥ* to mean "disinterested villagers" and says "*samāḥ Apakṣapātinaḥ samāśca te grāmāśca samagrāmāḥ.*" Vijñāneśvara understands it to mean "an even number of neighbouring villagers"—"*sama-saṅkhyāḥ pratyāsanagrāmīṇāḥ,*" and is followed by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā*¹. The verse under reference lays down only that in cases of dispute as to boundaries in which no tangible evidence on either side is forthcoming, an even number of villagers, four, eight or ten, shall settle the boundary, following a certain definite procedure. And though there is a slight difference of interpretation as to the first member in the compound word *samagrāmāḥ* all commentators are unanimous in accepting that *gramāḥ* here means *grāmīṇāḥ*, villagers.

We have thus seen that the authorities cited by Dr. Prāṇ Nāth in support of his new interpretation have, in every instance failed, on scrutiny, to sustain the burden he seeks to place on them. An interpretation which can perhaps just be rendered plausible only at the cost of so much special pleading in the course of which lexicons have to be misinterpreted, epigraphs misquoted and legal texts misapplied can hardly find any ready acceptance at the hands of serious students who mind accuracy in methods of research and precision in the results attained. It is true that this discussion had led to the purely negative result that Dr. Prāṇ Nāth has not succeeded in establishing by proper evidence the new interpretation of the word *grāmā* proposed by

1. See p. 257 of Viśvarūpa Triv. Sans. Series no. LXXIV p. 233 of the *Mitākṣarā* Bombay N. S. Press, 1918, and p. 542 of the *Smṛticandrikā* Vol. III part II no. 48 of the Bibl. Sanskrita, Mysore.

him¹. But considering the extent of damage done in the field of Indian historical study by the facility with which plausible errors gain popular currency, perhaps even this negative conclusion will not be held altogether valueless. And with regard to the numerical figures attached to the names of countries and districts in the South Indian Inscriptions and elsewhere we are still in the same position as before, as Dr. Prāṇ Nāth's apparently neat solution of the difficulties involved has not turned out to be as sound as it looked.

1. In pp. 33-9 of his work Dr. Prāṇ Nāth continues his effort to sustain his interpretation mainly with the aid of translations of Muhammadan historians. But I have not felt it necessary to prolong the discussion further as no fresh points are made by him in these pages and the inaccuracies in his treatment of the subject are too obvious to escape the attention of a careful reader. I shall only add that *Bakṣa-kṣiṇṣa* (P. 38 and n. 3) only means 'Lord of the 100,000 country' not lord of a country which contained 100,000 tracts of land or estates.

STUDIES IN THE UPANIṢADS.

BY

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(Continued from page 126 of Vol. IV, J. O. R. M.)

SECTION VII

MORAL STANDARDS.

The assertion of the Upaniṣads that the Knower of the Ātman transcends good and evil has been so very often misunderstood, that no mistake of this kind ought to surprise us any more. Still it gives us something of a shock when even sympathetic students like Hume, after his careful translation of the Upaniṣads, can say, "The possession of some metaphysical knowledge actually cancels all past sins and even permits the knower unblushingly to continue in 'what seems to be much evil' with perfect impunity, although such acts are heinous crimes and are disastrous in their effect for others who lack that kind of knowledge". Knowledge, as the Upaniṣads conceive it, is different from what we generally mean by knowing. The knowledge that they strive for is something that pertains to the very nature of the Ātman. The Knower of Brahman becomes Brahman. "Being very Brahman, he goes to Brahman."¹ Again and again the Upaniṣads tell us that what we know, that we gain, and that we become. Who knows the *Gāyatrī* woven upon the vital breaths becomes possessed of vital breaths². The *arka* fire and the *aśvamedha* are one divinity—Death. He who knows this wards off death again, death obtains him not, death becomes his body.³ He who knows the support of that *sāman* becomes supported⁴.

1. Brh. 4. 4. 6.

2. Ch. Up. 2. 11. 2.

3. Brh. Up. 1. 2. 7.

4. Brh. Up. 1. 3. 27.

Whoever thus knows I am Brahman, becomes this All.¹ All past sins are cancelled because the knower of the Ātman has become one with the All—the whole world has ceased to exist for him. Gone are the fifteen parts according to their station. Even all the sense organs in their corresponding divinities! One's deeds and the self that consists of understanding. All become unified in the Supreme Imperishable.²

As for the knower of the Ātman being permitted to continue unblushingly in sin, there can be no knowledge of the Ātman without the total extinction of all desires—He is '*akāma, niṣkāma āptakāma, ātmakāma.*'

When are liberated all
The desires that lodge in one's heart,
Then a mortal becomes Immortal,
Therein he reaches Brahman.³

According to the Chāndogya "Only they who find that Brahman world through the chaste life of a student of sacred knowledge, only they possess that Brahman world."⁴

The Upaniṣads, therefore, may very well assert that neither good nor evil conduct has any meaning for the Brahman knower. That they do have a very real meaning for the seeker after knowledge, the Upaniṣads are very far from denying. The man, who has not realized the self, is bound by all the laws of the world of name and form, whose essence is truth⁵, is led downward by evil, and upward by good action. Nowhere in the Upaniṣads are virtue and goodness underrated—the necessity of purifying our minds by good thoughts and actions is as strongly emphasised in the earliest as in the later Upaniṣads. The doctrine of Karma and Transmigration is based upon an unfaltering conviction in the power of the deed.

"Yājñavalkya", said he, 'when the voice of a dead man goes into fire, his breath into wind, his eye into the sun, his mind into the moon, his hearing into the quarters of

1. Brh. 1. 4. 10. See also Ch. 2. 11; 12; 13; 14; etc. Ch. 4. 3. 8; 4. 5. 3; 4. 6. 4; 4. 7. 4; 4. 8. 4; Taitt. 1. 3. 4; 1. 5; 3. 8; Kausi 2. 6; 2. 14; 31; etc.

2. Muṇḍ. 3. 2. 7.

3. Brh. 4. 4. 7.

4. Ch. 8. 4. 3.

5. Ch. 6. 16. 3. See also 8, 5. 4.

heaven, his body into the earth, his soul (Ātman) into space, the hairs of his head into plants, the hairs of his body into trees, his blood and semen are placed in water, what then becomes of this person ?

. The two went away and deliberated: what they said was Karma, what they praised was Karma. Verily one becomes good by good action, bad by bad action."¹ "According as one acts, according as one conducts himself, so does he become. The doer of good becomes good, the doer of evil becomes evil."²

"Now verily a person consists of purpose (*kratumaya*). According to the purpose which a person has in this world, this does he become on departing hence. So let him form for himself a purpose." says Śāṇḍilya³

It is therefore clear that the earlier Upaniṣads cannot be accused of countenancing evil, or of not laying stress upon the value of good deeds and thoughts. The later Upaniṣads are as emphatic.

Not he who has not ceased from bad conduct,
Not he who is not tranquil, not he who is not composed,
Not he who is not of peaceful mind,
Can obtain Him by Intelligence.⁴

The later upaniṣads are so deeply impressed with the thought that our salvation lies within ourselves and that liberation means desirelessness, that they regard all pleasures with suspicion.

*anya cchreyo' nyadutaiva preyas-te ubhe nānārthe puruṣam
sinītaḥ |*

*tayoḥ śreya ādadānasya sādhu bhavati hīyaterthādi ya u preyo
vṛṇīte ||*⁵

The senses are looked upon as vicious horses that may carry the individual self to destruction if not held in firm control by the mind and intellect. They lead us outward instead of allowing

1. Brh. 3. 2. 13.

2. Brh. 4. 4. 5.

3. Ch. 3. 14. 1.

4. Kātha 2. 24.

5. Kātha. 2. 1.

us to turn to the light within us. "The self-existent pierced the opening outwards."

The rules of conduct enjoined by the earliest Upaniṣads can be observed in Ch. 8. 15. where the student after undergoing the prolonged mental and moral discipline of Brahmacharya in his teacher's house, returns to continue his study in a home of his own concentrating his senses on the Ātman and living, so that he injures no creature, a blameless and exalted life. In Brh. 5. 2. the divine voice is said to thunder forth *Da, Da, Da*, meaning *dāmyata, datta, dayadhvam*—restrain yourselves, give, be compassionate. Taitt. 1. 11. is a teacher's parting advice to his disciple about to enter life. He is bidden to speak the truth, to practice virtue, and not to neglect study. He must not break off his line of progeny, must fulfil his duty to the gods (sacrifice) to the fathers (rites for the manes) be mindful of welfare and prosperity. Mother, father, teacher and guest are to be revered as gods. Only those acts that are irreproachable should be practised, not others.

The moral standard of the Upaniṣads therefore is very exalted, but already here in one of the earliest of them, we can discern the first signs of a hardening of the moral consciousness. that has gone very far in our own times, and that by a refusal to adapt its standards to changing conditions has laid us open to repeated charges of injustice, cruelty and even immorality. ('*Yānyasmākam sucariṭāni, tāni tvayopāśyāni no itarāṇi*¹.') This spirit has developed and carried us into a realm of inconsistencies where, in the name of religion and morality, we wink at a thousand abuses because they have come down to us from the past together with much that is glorious and true for all ages and countries.

SECTION VIII. INTERNAL EVIDENCES REGARDING THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE UPANIṢADS.

1. The *Brhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya* Accounts of the *Pañcāgnividyā*.

The Brh. and Chānd. accounts of the *Pañcāgnividyā* represent the same tradition but the Chānd. one seems to be earlier.

1. Taitt. 1.

This is evident from a careful comparison of the two passages and is interestingly confirmed by the tradition that makes Uddālaka Āruṇi who receives the *Vidyā* from Jaivali and from whom the Chānd. is largely derived, the teacher of Yājñavalkya of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka.

Comparatively insignificant details in the symbolic representation of the five fires are curiously misplaced in the Bṛh. Up. while these are correctly given in the Chānd. account.

THE FIVE FIRES DOCTRINE.

Parts of the Sacrificial Fire.

<i>Fire</i>	<i>Fuel</i>	<i>Smoke</i>	<i>Flame</i>	<i>Coals</i>	<i>Sparks.</i>
I. Bṛh. Yonder World	Āditya	Rays	Day	Quarters of space.	Intermediate quarters
Ch. Yonder World	Āditya	Rays	Day	Moon.	Stars.
<i>From this Soma arises.</i>					
II. Bṛh. Parjanya	Year	Clouds	Lightning	Thunder bolts	Hail stones.
Ch. Parjanya	Wind	Clouds	Lightning	Thunder bolts.	Hail stones.
<i>Rain arises.</i>					
III. Bṛh. This world	Prthivī	Fire	Night	Moon.	Stars.
Ch. Earth	Year	Ākāśa	Night	Quarters of Heaven	Intermediate quarters.

Food arises.

IV. Bṛh. Puruṣa	The open mouth.	Prāṇa	Speech	Eye	Ear
Ch. Puruṣa	Speech	Prāṇa	Tongue	Eye	Ear

From this arises semen, which is offered ° in the sacrificial fire of woman and from this—

V. oblation arises the *ṣuruṣa*.

It is evident that in this conception of the sacrificial fire in which Śraddhā is offered and from which Soma arises of which the Sun is fuel, its rays the smoke, the day the flame, the moon and the stars are more appropriately the coals and the sparks than the quarters and the intermediate quarters given in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. That this is a misplacement and not due to a difference in the conception of the whole image, is shown by the occurrence of stars and the moon as the coals and sparks in the third sacrificial fire in Bṛh. where the Chānd. has instead the quarters and intermediate quarters which are the very details that the Bṛh. misplaces in the first fire. It is obvious that here again the quarters and the intermediate quarters that the Chānd. mentions are more appropriate to the sacrificial fire of the earth in which rain is offered to produce food than the moon and stars which the Bṛh. gives in this place. In the same fire (Pṛthivī in Chānd. and this world in Bṛh.) the former gives the year as the fuel instead of Pṛthivī which is needlessly repeated as the fuel in Bṛh; and here again the Chānd. version is more in keeping with the idea than the Bṛh. one.

Less evidently the description of the fourth fire (*ṣuruṣa*) in the two Upaniṣads betray the same characteristics. We are therefore justified in assuming that if both these accounts independently represent a common tradition, then the Chāndogya more faithfully represents it, and we may also assume that the Bṛh. account is derived from the Chānd. passage, which is the earlier text.

This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the Bṛh. combines these misplacements of minor details due to a shuffling of materials in a story that is repeated, with certain developments of the doctrine that are not found in the Chānd. At any rate we have to note that in the corresponding passages of the two versions, the language in Bṛh. readily admits of interpretation according to later ideas while the Chand. texts have to be strained to yield such meanings.

1. Ch. 5. 10. 2. चन्द्रमसो विद्युतं तत्पुरुषोऽमानवः स एतान् ब्रह्म
रमयति. एष देवयानः पन्था इति ॥

The souls that travel by the Devayāna in the Ch. version¹ are apparently conveyed directly from the lightning to Brahman while in the Brh.¹ it is only said that they attain the Brahman world "where they dwell for long ages. For these there is no return." But it is *not* said they attain Brahman straight away.

Again the Brh.² brings the waxing and waning of the moon into relation with the ascent and descent of the Souls—a later development. At any rate the idea in a confused form is certainly present in the Brh. passage while the Chānd.³ one ignores it.

If these instances are merely due to more guarded and flexible language in the Brh. then it is remarkable that the Chānd. in all these places should thus differ from the Brh. when the two texts in most parts are in general verbal agreement with each other.

The most striking example of such a difference in the two version is Chānd⁴. where, side by side with the two paths, the Upaniṣad outlines a third place as a condition of small continually recurring creatures thus:—"Be born and die". The change of words in the Brh. version is certainly remarkable.⁵ "*Those who know not the two ways become* creeping and flying insects and whatever there is here that bites."⁶

1. Brh. 6. 2. 15. देवल्लोकादादित्यं आदित्याद्वैद्युतं तान् वैद्युतान् पुरुषो मानस एव ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः ।

2. Brh. 6. 2. 16. ते चन्द्रं प्राप्य अन्तं भवन्ति, तांस्तत्र देवा यथा सोमं राजानमाप्यायस्वापक्षीयस्वेत्येवमेतांस्तत्र भक्षयन्ति, तेषां यदा तत्पर्यवैति—अथेममेवाकाशं अभिनिष्पद्यन्त आकाशाद्रायुः.....

3. Ch. 5. 10. 4, 5.....पितृलोकादाकाशम्, आकाशाच्चन्द्रमसम्, एष सोमो राजा तद्देवानामन्नं तं देवा भक्षयन्ति...तास्मिन् यावत्संपातमुषित्वाऽथैतमेवाध्वानं पुनर्निवर्तन्ते यथेतमाकाशमाकाशाद्रायुम्.....

4. Ch. 5. 10. 8. अथैतयोः पथेन कतरेण च न तानीमानि क्षुद्राणि असकृदावर्तीनि भूतानि भवन्ति जायस्व म्रियस्वेत्येतत्तृतीयं स्थानम्, तेनासौ लोको न संपूर्यते—तस्माज्जुगुप्सेत तदेष श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन् ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चाचरस्तैरिति ।

5. Brh. 6. 2. 16.

6. Hume's translation. (अथ य एतौ पन्थानौ न विदुः ते कीटा तज्जा यदिदं दन्दशूकम्) ।

The words in Ch. do not point to the third place as the condition into which the guilty are born again but only indicates it as the condition of those who do not travel by either of the two paths, transmigration or emancipation. When interpreting them as referring to the third place as the fate of the wicked, Deussen is influenced by the corresponding text of the Brh. which says so in so many words. The standpoint of the Ch. seems rather to be in favour of denying to insects and flies and other fleeting creatures, individual souls, and exempting them from the sway of Karma. But the tendency of the doctrine in its development would be to extend itself to all creatures great and small till at last as in the later Upaniṣads trees and plants were brought under its sway, and as time went on even feelings were attributed to them.¹ In Brh. and Ch. trees and plants, rain etc. are *transit stations* of the migrating soul in a special sense—there are not yet separate *births* of these souls.

It cannot be admitted that this mention of the third place in the Ch. and the corresponding text in the Brh. imply a belief in eternal retribution as Barua suggests.² A belief that is so opposed to the whole trend of Upaniṣadic thought as the doctrine of eternal punishment in any form—more directly to the very doctrine of Karma which this section is engaged in expounding, cannot be read into the texts even in a vague and undefined form. The inconsistency involved is too great.

The Chândogya, therefore, does not extend transmigration and Karma to insects and flies while the Brh. by a striking change of expression in the corresponding texts reflects a later stage of the doctrine by extending it in a logical and consistent development, to every creature great and small making of the third place of the Ch. a state of punishment for those who neither do good deeds nor seek emancipation by renouncing all action. The Brh. account therefore is later than the Ch. account of the five-fires doctrine and seems to be derived from the latter.³

1. Manu : अन्तःसंज्ञा भवन्त्येते सुखदुःखसमन्विताः ।

2. See his very interesting classification of Souls into rational or transcendental, the mundane, the infernal and animal souls on Pages 94-5 Pre. Bud. Ind. Phil.

3. The Kauṣītaki more clearly than the Brh. says that all, creatures, great or small are possessed of individual souls and come under the laws of Karma. This is not an imitation as Deussen suggests¹ of the

The questions also in the two accounts show that the Ch. represents more faithfully the original tradition.

Brhadāranyaka.

Chāndogya.

1. वेत्थ यथेमाः प्रजाः प्रयत्यो
विप्रतिपद्यन्त इति

2. वेत्थो यथेमं लोकं पुनरापद्यन्ता
इति ।

3. वेत्थो यथासौ लोक एव बहुभिः
पुनः पुनः प्रयद्भिर्न संपूर्यत ३ इति

4. वेत्थो यतिथ्यां आहुत्यां हुतायां
आपः पुरुष वाचो भूत्वा समुत्थाय वदन्ती
३ इति ।

5. वेत्थो देवयानस्य वा पथः प्रति-
पदं पितृयाणस्य वा यत्कृत्वा देवयानं वा
पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पितृयाणं वापि न ऋषे-
र्वचः श्रुतम् ।

द्वे सृती अशृणवं पितृणामहं देवानामुत
मर्त्यानाम् । ताम्यामिदं विश्वमेजस्मेति य-
दन्तरा पितरं मातरं चेति ॥

1. वेत्थ यदितोऽधि प्रजाः प्रयन्तीति ।

2. वेत्थ यथा पुनरावर्तन्त इति ।

3. वेत्थ पथोदेवयानस्य पितृयाण-
स्य च व्यावर्त्तना इति ।

4. वेत्थ यथासौ लोको न संपूर्यत
३ इति ।

5. वेत्थ यथा पञ्चम्यामाहुतावापः
पुरुषवचसो भवन्तीति ।

The first and fifth questions in Brh. overlap. The answer that the Upan. suggests for the third question is implied in the second question itself. The order of the questions is not so consistent. The questions in Ch. are all definite, do not overlap, and are fully and consistently answered in the Upaniṣad. The difference in the first question in the two Upaniṣads is significant. The Ch. says "to what do these creatures go on departing hence," the answer is "the Moon" which is common to both paths in the Ch.¹ The Brh. omits the Moon from the Devayāna and there is a change in the form of the question which is not now

Ch. passage in 6. 9. 3; it appears to be rather the other way about and the Ch. passage an imitation of the Kauṣ. one, or the original passage on which the Kauṣ. text is based; because the Ch. account commits an important omission that cannot be easily explained if we treat the passage as the original—namely it omits "*puruṣa*" and is therefore quite incomplete by the most important factor in the list. This cannot be readily accounted for in the original text, but may easily have taken place in a mere mechanical enumeration that follows an already well-known list.

1. Compare Kaus.

relevant. This change makes the first question in the Brh. a sort of supplement to the fifth in the same series and no longer necessary and definite.

The first question "How do the departing souls separate?" and the fifth question "What is the access of the Devayāna and of the Pitṛyāna—by doing what, do the souls gain the one or the other?" do not require separate answers.

The second question in both Upaniṣads is the same and deals with the manner of the souls' return journey to the world.

The third question in Ch.—"what are the courses of the Devayāna and Pitṛyānas" follows the same line of thought. The third question in Brh. is "How is that world not filled up by those who go from hence continually?" and the fourth, "In what oblation does the water become a human voice?" the fifth, "What is the access to the two paths?" Now compare the order of the questions in Ch. Following the third question which completes the description of the journey to and from the Moon, the Upaniṣad puts the fourth question "How is that world not filled up?" and concludes by the question "In what oblation does the water become a human voice and rise up and speak?"

The fourth question in Ch. is practically the same as the third in the Brh. but in the latter the answer implied seems to be that yonder world is not filled up by those who go hence because they do not remain there permanently. The second question is based upon this knowledge, only the manner of the return being questioned, while the questions admit also the two paths of transmigration and of emancipation. The third question in Brh. therefore is not necessary. In Ch. however the question means something else which has been superseded by the later development of the doctrine that is acknowledged by the Brh. alone. Immediately after describing the third place as the condition of insects and flies which are not on either of the two paths of transmigration or of *mokṣa*—thus—"Be born and die"—the Upaniṣad asserts, "By this, that world is not filled up." These fleeting creatures who are born and die do not go to the Moon to travel by either of the two paths.

The whole of the section that follows is an obvious interpolation¹ to bring the doctrine into harmony with its subsequent

1. Ch. 5. 10. 8, 9, 10. The interpolated passage begins with—
तस्माज्जुगुप्सेत in 5. 10. 8., continues through 5. 10. 9 and 5. 10. 10. Of
these 8 & 9 have already been quoted.

development. *Tasmājjugupseta, tadeṣa lokah*, makes of the third place a state to be avoided—the result of sinful deeds as in the Brh. It ends in a weak and unnecessary anticlimax. “But he who knows the five fires thus, is not stained with evil, even though consorting with those people. He becomes pure, clean, possessor of a pure world (*puṇyalokaḥ*) who knows this”.¹ It is the original object of the Upāsana not to make the knower the possessor of a meritorious world, but rather the opposite—to take him along the Devāyānā to Brahman without return—to *mokṣa* which cannot be called *puṇyaloka*.

Of these, the Chāndogya Upaniṣad has the original version.²

The strife of the devas and asuras. Found in Ch. 1. 2, and Brh. 1. 3.

It is a characteristic of the Upaniṣads that they glorify those parts of the ritual connected with the Veda to which they belong, in expounding their own teachings. Thus the Brh. brings its cosmology into relation with the Aśvamedha—the most important of the animal sacrifices; in the Kaṭha, Naciketas chooses as his second boon instruction in the Naciketas Fire that leads to heaven; the Kauṣītaki enjoins the worship of Brahman as *Ukthya* and the Chāndogya in its first two *Prapāṭhakas* is chiefly engaged in glorifying the Udgītha and the Sāman.

The section of the *Devāsura* rivalry is found in the Brh. after a description of the world as the sacrificial horse, and an account of creation leading up to the institution of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This glorification of the Udgītha as the breath in the mouth, followed by a glorification of the Sāman as breath, comes after this, and in the fourth Brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣad goes on with the account of creation under the analogy of the procreation by the Self. In the Ch. the section occurs in 1-2. The Chāndogya begins with an identification of the Udgītha (as the essence of all things) with the mystic syllable *Om*, and in the second *Khanda*, the Udgītha is identified with the breath in the mouth; in the third, the Udgītha and its syllables are variously identified; the fourth and fifth continue the same theme; the sixth and seventh give the cosmic and personal interrelations of the

1. अथ ह य एतान् एवं पञ्चामीन् वेद न सह तैरप्याचरन् पाप्मना लिप्यते
उत्सृष्टः पुण्यलोको भवति य एवं वेद य एवं वेद.

2. Professor Deussen thinks otherwise for reasons given in his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 105.

Udgītha, and in the eighth and ninth the Udgītha is identified with the Ultimate as space.

The features of the *Devāsura* rivalry-story are the superiority of breath among the functions and a glorification of the Udgītha by an identification of the two. The first feature may belong equally to both Upaniṣads, but the second is more natural and appropriate in a Sāma Veda Upaniṣad. When we find this secondary feature faithfully reproduced in both versions we are justified in assuming that the borrowing has taken place on the part of the Yajur Veda Upaniṣad—the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.

In the *Chāndogya*, Udgītha is revered as *Om*, (1. 1. 1) its syllables as heaven, atmosphere and earth, breath, speech and food, sun, wind and fire and the three Vedas—the sun and *vyāna* are also revered as Udgītha—and in the account of the rivalry of the gods and demons, the functions, one by one, are revered as the Udgītha. The idea of reverencing the Udgītha and its syllables as breath, *Om* etc. is therefore found in more than one place. In the *Bṛh.* however the Gods first approach the *Prāṇas* and ask them to sing the Udgītha, but in 1. 3. 23, the Udgītha is identified with *Prāṇa*. Strictly speaking the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* has no business to be glorifying the Udgītha at all, and when we find it devoting a whole *Brāhmaṇa* to it, and indulging in the apparent inconsistency of making the breath sing the Udgītha in the first place and following it up by the identification of the breath as the Udgītha (like the *Ch.*) we may reasonably assume that the *Chāndogya* account is the original from which the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* derives this section.

The very fact that the *Bṛh.* retains the secondary feature of the glorification of the Udgītha argues for the originality of the *Chāndogya* version.

In the *Bṛh.* moreover the discussion of the superiority of breath is wedged in between two expositions of creation theories and is more naturally placed in the *Chāndogya* among various identifications of the Udgītha with *Om*, the sun, etc. though, in this, the glorification of the Udgītha becomes the chief feature of the story or at least of equal importance with the superiority of breath.

In the light of these facts the elaborations of the *Bṛh.* are also suspicious. The bodily functions are connected with their cosmical Upaniṣadic equivalents, and breath is described as

the eater of food. There is also an elaboration of some details in the story.

This is found in the Ch. 5. 1. 6—12., Brh. 6. 1. 7—13., Kauṣī. 2. 14., Praśna 2. 2. 4. Of these the
The Prāṇasamvāda. Brh. account is derived from the Chāndogya and the others based upon these accounts. The reasons for assuming this order are given by Professor Deussen himself.¹

Ch. 8. 4. 1-2; Brh. 4. 4. 22 also Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 5, Śvet. 6. 19.
In the Ch. 8. 4. the image of the Soul as the
The Ātman as Setu. *setu* which holds apart the worlds and keeps back the evils of this world crossing over to the other, is found. Neither good nor evil, day nor night nor death nor sorrow passes over to the other world which is free from all evil. Passing over this dam we leave evils behind and enter the world of perpetual light. In the Brh. 4. 4. 22 this idea is alluded to, briefly, thus among a host of epithets " *eṣa bhūtādhipatireṣa bhūtāpāla eṣa setur vidharāṇa eṣām lokānāmasambhedūya*," and Professor Deussen traces back the Chāndogya passage to this brief allusion, on the supposition that the *setu* comparison is suggested by Yājñavalkya's words in the Brh. 3. 8. 9.—

"*elasya vā akṣarasya praśāsane Gārgī sūryācandramasau vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ*"

and that in the Chāndogya there is confusion of images of the Ātman as a separating dam and then as bridge, because the original idea has been obscured by time. There appears to be no confusion of images in the Ch. passage, the image of the Ātman as a separating dam is maintained. The evils of this world are kept apart from the joys of the other world,—we pass over from one to the other when we attain salvation. A somewhat similar idea is found in the Brh. 4. 3. 9, where the *Vijñānamaya Ātman*, standing in the intermediate condition of sleep, sees both this world and the other world.

Later Upaniṣads (Śvet. 6. 19. and Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 5) have taken over this idea from the Ch. and owing to the suggestion in the last part of the section, *setu* seems to be used in the sense of a bridge in both places.

¹ Philosophy of the Upan. p. 104.

The conception of the body as the city of Brahman also belongs to the Ch. 8—1.

*"atha yadidamasmin brahmaṇṣu daharam puṇḍarikam
veśma daharo'sminnantarākāśastasmin yadantastadanveṣṭavyam
ladvā vijijñāsitavyam iti."*

This conception is perhaps allied to that of the five heavenly doorkeepers of the heart (Ch. 3. 13)—the vital breaths correlated with the bodily functions, and the sun, moon, fire, Parjanya and space. These are the five Brahman men, doorkeepers of the heavenly world. This idea is present in the Brh. also.

*puraścakre dvīpadaḥ puraścakre catuṣpadaḥ puraḥ sa
pakṣī bhūtā puraḥ puruṣa āviśaditi sa vā ayam puruṣaḥ sarvāsu
pūruṣa pūriṣayo nainena kiñcanānāvṛtam nainena kiñcanāsam-
vṛtam."*

This conception of the Chāndogya has influenced later Upaniṣads also. (Muṇḍ. 2. 2. 7.) The Kaṭha mentions the eleven-gated city of the Unborn (5. 1). There is the city with 9 gates of Śvet. 3. 18—etc.—and, through these of later literature. Prāśna 4. 3. where the fires of Prāṇa keep watch in the city of our body seems to follow Ch. 3. 13—(The doorkeepers of the heavenly world).

The Ch. in 1. 2 mentions five: eye, smell, speech, ear, mind: three: mind, breath and speech in 6. 5. 6; apparently four in 3. 13. and 5. 23. 2, eye, ear, speech, mind—the wind corresponds to breath. The Brh. 1. 3. mentions five as in the Ch. 1. 2., in 3. 1. 3-6 four are mentioned, speech, eye, breath and mind. Seven in 2. 2. 2, and with the voice eight (2. 2. 3—4) 3. 7. 18-26; eight again, breath, speech, tongue, eye, ear, mind, hands and skin, six in Brh. 4. 1. 2-7, speech, breath, sight, hearing, mind and heart. The later ten *indriyas* are for the first time mentioned in the Brh. 2. 4. 11. in Yājñavalkya's instruction to Maitreyī.

The arteries of the heart.

These are mentioned in several Upaniṣads Ch. 8. 6. Brh. 2. 1. 19, 4. 2. 3; 4. 3. 20; 4. 4. 8-9; Kauṣī. 4. 19. Prāśna 3. 6.

In the Ch. 8. 6—these are of five colours, and connected with the sunrays, similarly coloured—This forms a sort of highway between the worlds. In sound sleep one creeps

into these arteries and reaches *tejas*—In death the knower departs by the artery that leads up by the crown of the head, and enters the sun—the non-knower departs by the others and is turned back from the sun. In the Brh. these veins are called *hitāḥ*. In 4. 2. 3. they are in the heart and nourish the individual soul.—the one leading up is the path on which it travels. They are the abode of the soul in deep sleep in the Brh. 2. 1. 19 and 4. 3. 20. In 2. 1. 19 the number is given 72,000, and they spread forth into the *purītaḥ*. In 4. 3. 20 they are filled with fluid of five colours. The Brh. 4. 4. 8-9 speaks of the 'ancient narrow path' by which the Brahman-knower travels. He is called *taijasa* which recalls the theory peculiar to the Chāndogya of heat as the first emanation from being—into which we are reabsorbed, and the Ch. 8. 6. 3. where in sound sleep, the self reaches *tejas* and in death—the sun. On this path there are the five colours, derived from the Ch. 8. 6. 1.

Kauṣī. 4. 19. In this also the veins are called *hitāḥ*. They are of five colours, according to the Chāndogya version.

The 3 passages are quoted below:—

atha yā etā hṛdayasya nāḍyastāḥ piṅgalasyānimnastiṣṭhanti śuklasya, nīlasya, pīṭasya, lohitasya. Ch. 8. 6. 1.

tā vā asyaitā hitā nāma nāḍyo yathā keśāḥ sahasradhā bhinnāstāvātānimnāstiṣṭhanti śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇāḥ. Brh. 4. 3. 20.

.....*hitā nāma hṛdayasya nāḍyo hṛdayāt purītatama-bhipratanvanti yathā sahasradhā keśo vipāṭitastāvadanvyāḥ piṅgalasyānimnā tiṣṭhante śuklasya kṛṣṇasya pīṭasya lohitasya iti.....* Kauṣī. 4. 19.

We may safely assume that the Ch. passage is the earliest and that the two others are derived from this. In Brh. 2. 1. 19 the veins are said to be 72,000 in number, and on the basis of this and the 101 of the Ch. 8. 6. 8. the Praśna mentions the 101 arteries to each of which belong a hundred smaller ones, to each of these smaller 72,000. In other ways too the Praśna 3 betrays dependence on the Ch. 8. 6.

Other reasons.

The Brh. is reminiscent of the Chāndogya in other ways—Brh. 5. 6.

This person, here in the heart, is made of mind, is of the nature of light, is like a little grain of rice, is a grain of barley.

This very one is the ruler of everything, is lord of everything, governs this whole universe, whatsoever there is.¹

In the Ch. 6. 13. the immanent soul is illustrated by salt dissolved in water.

In the Brh. 2. 4. 12 and in 4. 5. 13 (both in Yājñavalkya's instruction to Maitreyī) the salt simile is employed—in 2. 4. 12 like the Ch. 6. 13 as a mass of salt dissolved in water and in 4. 5. 13—in illustration of the same fact as in 2. 4. 12) there is a change, and the conception is of a mass of salt without inside or outside entirely a mass of taste, is found. Here also we may infer the suggestion of the Chāndogya for the comparison, though the idea illustrated is not that of the Chāndogya.

The evidence detailed above justified the conclusion that of the two earliest Upaniṣads, the Chāndogya is the earlier, and that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka is in places dependent on the Chāndogya.

Conclusion.

Tradition makes Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya contemporaries and even shows the former as the teacher of the great philosopher of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The Chāndogya contains some of the oldest historical material in the Upaniṣads in the story of Raikva and Jānaśruti and Satyakāma Jābāla. In the matter of symbols and *upāsānās* too the Chāndogya as a whole does not appear to have passed beyond the earliest stages—and in the case of old narratives preserved in both Upaniṣads the Bṛhadāraṇyaka often shows developments that are wanting in the Chāndogya.

All this is interestingly confirmed by the greater sanctity that seems to belong traditionally to the Chāndogya. Out of twenty-eight fundamental passages in Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtras twelve are taken from the Chāndogya, and four each from the Kaṭha and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, two each from the Taittirīya and Kauṣītaki, and four from the Atharva Upaniṣads.² The same striking pre-ference is shown by Śaṅkarācārya also as Deussen has himself pointed out.³ This is all the more strange. For Śaṅkara's Advaitism, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka is much more adapted than the Chāndogya Upaniṣad whose philosophical sections have a prevailing tinge of pantheism that would perhaps better bend itself to a Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation.

1. See the Śāṇḍilyavidyā—Ch. 3. 14.

2. Deussen. Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 28.

3. *Ibid* p. 30.

LAKṢAṆARATNĀVALĪ

AN UNKNOWN WORK OF ŚRĪMAD APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

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The Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī, the available portion of the text of which is reproduced below, is a hitherto unknown work of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita. While engaged in the preparation of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts—Alaṅkāra section—in the Sarasvatī Mahāl Palace Library, Tanjore, I had the opportunity to come across a fragmentary copy of the work, Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī, with a commentary. The commentator does not give out his name, but considering the way in which the commentary begins and considering also Appayya Dīkṣita's way of commenting on his own works, I am tempted to believe that the commentary too is by the same illustrious writer. The work deals with the definitions relating to the technical terms of Sanskrit Dramaturgy. As preserved in that library, the text is incomplete as also the commentary. A vigorous search may enable scholars to trace the work in its entirety.

The commentator, whoever he might have been, tells us that the work is by Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita and that it was composed by the Dīkṣita at the express request of King Veṅkaṭapati, the person that induced him to compose the Kuvalayānanda. The following introductory note in the commentary of the work under description is worthy of note:—

अथ श्रीमन्तुः अप्पय्यदीक्षिताः सर्वविद्याकलाकलापचातुर्यसतारस-
स्वारस्यविज्ञानसरस्वतः सारस्वतावतारप्रथितमहिम्नो महीपालचूडामणेः श्रीवेङ्कटा-
भिधानस्य स्वाभिलाषपरिपूरणकामधेनोः नियोगेन निखिलकाव्यनाटकलक्षण-
निबन्धनं चिकीर्षुः तत्र लक्षणरत्नावल्याख्यां लक्षणपद्धतिं प्रदर्शयन् स्वात्मदेवस्य
निखिलदेवताराध्यपादुकस्य निःशेषभुवनावनदक्षस्य श्रीचन्द्रशेखरस्य प्रणामं
समस्तदुस्तरप्रतिबन्धकनिवर्तकं निबध्नाति नान्द्याख्यपद्येन ॥

Comparing this extract with the last verse of the Kuvala-
yānanda,

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।

नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

it is just possible for us to see that the two Venkaṭapatis are
identical with each other.

Below I have reproduced the textual portion of the Lakṣaṇa-
ratnāvalī, omitting the commentary. My main object in giving
this fragment is only to make scholars aware of the fact that
there is a new work of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita dealing with
the principles of dramaturgy. Let us hope that ere long the
work may be recovered in its entirety.

॥ लक्षणरत्नावली ॥

वन्दारुबृन्दारकमौलिरत्न-

ज्वालासमुद्भासिपदारविन्दम् ।

नतेप्सितार्थार्पणकामधेनुं

नमामि बालेन्दुलसत्किरीटम् ॥ १ ॥

यत्राष्टभिर्द्वादशाभिरष्टादशभिरेव वा ।

द्वाविंशत्या पदैर्युक्ता सा नान्दी परिकीर्तिता ॥ २ ॥

आशीर्नमस्त्रियारूपः श्लोकः काव्यार्थसूचकः ।

नान्दीति कथ्यते तस्यां पदानां नियमोऽपि वा ॥ ३ ॥

माङ्गल्यशङ्खचक्राब्जकोककैरवशंसिनी ।

नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशाभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलंकृता ॥ ४ ॥

गर्तगह्वरनिम्नाण्डपल्वलप्रमुखैः पदैः ।

नञर्थवाचकैश्चापि तथोपक्षयवाचकैः ॥ ५ ॥

पूर्वोत्तरविरुद्धार्थैः रौद्रवीभत्ससूचकैः ।

प्रकृतानुपयुक्तार्थैः अलंकारविवर्जितैः ॥ ६ ॥

संहारवाचकैश्चपि तथा मरणवाचकैः ।

एवमाद्यैः पदैर्हीना नान्दीकल्याणदा भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

शृङ्गारलीलारसिकं मन्दस्मितविराजितम् ।

प्रसन्नं वरदं देवं भक्ताभयवरप्रदम् ॥ ८ ॥

वनितामुखसौन्दर्यविनोदनसमुत्सुकम् ।

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कन्दर्पकोटिसौन्दर्यं स्वप्रबन्धप्रभुं शुभम् ॥

ध्यायेन्नान्दीमुखे भक्त्या तत्परं मङ्गलं चरेत् ॥ ९ ॥

आरब्ध.....नोऽघविशुद्धिहेतोः

कल्याणिनीं कामपि भाव्यनिर्जराम् [?] ।

न पद्म.....छन्नसमस्तपात्रः

कुर्यादयं सूत्रधृगेव नान्दीम् ॥ १० ॥

प्रथमं भारतं शास्त्रं स्वयं सम्यगधीत्य यः ।

शिष्यान् पाठयति प्राज्ञः सूत्रधारः स कथ्यते ॥

तेनैव कार्यं नान्द्याख्यं शिष्यवर्गसभान्तरे ॥ ११ ॥

नान्दीप्रशंसनादूर्ध्वं पूर्वरङ्गार्चनं चरेत् ।

पौष्पमञ्जलिकं श्रेयः प्रगायन्निजसंस्तरम् ॥

रङ्गपीडानिवृत्त्यर्थं विकिरेदूर्ध्वदिङ्मुखः ॥ १२ ॥

ततोऽपनीय नेपथ्यात् कुटुम्बाद्रङ्गमण्टपम् ।

प्रविश्य तत्समाजाग्रयान् चतुर्दशकलाविदः ॥ १३ ॥

भरताचार्यसिद्धान्तपारगान् सर्वसंमतान् ।

प्रस्तुत्य वरयेत्किञ्चित् अभिनेष्यामि वः पुरः ॥ १४ ॥

रूपकं श्रीमतामिष्टं किञ्चिद्विज्ञाप्यतामिति ।

तेषां प्रच्छन्नपात्रत्वात् तदुक्तिरनुसंवदेत् ॥

तैर्यथेष्टनियोगे तु तादृशीं स्मृतिमानयेत् ॥ १५ ॥

रूपकं लक्षणोपेतं नटादिप्रश्नपूर्वकम् ।

महयेत् कृतिनेतारं कविं च कुलशीलतः ॥ १६ ॥

भारतीं च प्र[चापि] शंसित्वा प्रबन्धार्थस्य सूचकैः ।

पदैः प्रसङ्गकरणं पूर्वरङ्गमिति स्मृतम् ॥ १७ ॥

पूर्वरङ्गविधेः पश्चात् प्रस्तावनमुदाहृतम् ।

अर्थान्तरपदैः शब्दैः अप्राकृतपदैरपि ॥

प्रकृतार्थप्रशंसां स्यात् रूपकोपक्रमस्तथा ॥ १८ ॥

सूत्रधारादल्पविद्यो गीतिशास्त्रविशारदः ।

भावग्राहयिता प्राज्ञो नट इत्यभिधीयते ॥

तज्जातीया तु वनिता नटीति परिकीर्त्यते ॥ १९ ॥

ŚAKA-PALLAVAS IN INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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(Continued from page 165. of Vol. IV, J. O. R. M.)

ii. The dynasty of Caṣṭana.

Caṣṭana, son of Ysamotika, became ruler of Mālva in 78 A. D. The circumstances that led to the foundation of this as of every other Śaka-Pallava dynasty are unknown. The Āndhra kings who ruled from sea to sea from 50 B. C. lost ground so that it was possible for Śakas to seize Mālva. From the fact that this family of Caṣṭana was called Śaka, we may infer that it was descended from the Śakas that had settled in the West coast from ancient times. Caṣṭana's capital was Ujjayinī and he is identical with Tirasthenes, Kiug os Ozena (*Ujjayinī*), mentioned by Ptolemy.¹

It has been pointed out that he was the founder of the Śaka era. Cunningham long ago assigned the foundation of this era to Caṣṭana and later scholars have for no proper reason ignored this suggestion of Cunningham. The Śaka era must have been founded by a Śaka and, so far as we know, Caṣṭana was the only Śaka who began to rule in 78 A. D. The first person who used the era was his grandson, Rudradāmā whose Juṇāgaḍh inscription is dated in the year 72, which must be of this era. This era was used, naturally without a name, by his descendants so long as they ruled. Eras, at least in India, were not proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets and given a baptismal name at the time of their inception. When the era first migrated south it was first used by Maṅgaleśa in the Bādāmi inscription of 578 A. D., where it is described as 'the year when the Śaka King was anointed.' As Caṣṭana was the only possible Śaka who could have been crowned 72 years before

1. Ind. Ant. xiii. p. 369.

a date when Rudradāmā was reigning, we are driven to conclude that the Śaka era was counted from the year of his coronation as Cunningham thought, though his successors in Indological studies have abandoned the theory on very insufficient grounds. The era travelled from the Karnāṭa to the Telugu and Tamil countries. It got the name of Śālivāhana Śakābda in the XIV century, under the Vijayanagara Kings. In time *Śakābda* (and its contracted form, *Śaka*) came to be used in the sense of 'era', and even the absurd phrase Vikrama Śaka came into use.

Modern scholars have attempted to discover the founder of the Śaka era in Northwest India, and one has suggested the possibility of Kaniṣka being its father. To support this guess, he has unwarrantably antedated Kaniṣka's reign, though Kaniṣka was not at all a Śaka. Another has speculated on Arya being the founder of the Śaka era, but these speculations have been made, not on the basis of historical evidence, but only, as pointed out already, for the purpose of propping up pet theories.

Ujjayinī, which has been from the middle of the I millennium B. C. associated with everything characteristically Hindu in Central India, as Benares in Northern India, became Caṣṭana's capital. From there he issued coins which bear a *caitya* between a crescent and a star. The *caitya* being a common type of Āndhra coins, Rapson thinks that its use by Caṣṭana is probably due to association with the Āndhras, and "It may well signify some extension of his power at their expense".¹ Instead of Rapson's hesitant phrase, we ought to say that Caṣṭana must have defeated the Āndhras and wrested from them a very important portion of their dominions, and Śaka-Pallava Kings did in other parts of India which they conquered, issue coins imitating the type of those of their predecessors. His father who bore a very outlandish name, which has been read as Yzamotika or Ghṣamotika, was not a Kṣatrapa, nor did he issue coins, and hence it is certain that Caṣṭana was the first ruler of his line. He struck coins both as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, which shows that he acquired at first a petty district and then extended his sovereignty far and wide. In his case, no amount of ingenuity, in the interests of the theory that Kṣatrapa meant a local Satrap, a deputy of a King, can invent any kind of suzerain

1. *Cat. Ind. Coins.* p. cxv.

power claiming supremacy over him and succeeding Kings of Mālava. In so far as his successors are concerned, we frequently find "a Mahākṣatrapa and a Kṣatrapa reigning at the same time—the latter occupying the position of heir-apparent and regularly in due course succeeding to the higher dignity".¹ Hence in their case Kṣatrapa merely meant a *Yuvarāja* and Mahākṣatrapa, a *Mahārāja*.

Caṣṭana, and after him, his son, Jayadāmā, issued coins, but with no dates on them. Caṣṭana is represented on his coins as wearing a moustache and a plain cap, with long hair reaching the neck, and, in one coin at least, arranged in ringlets.² His dominions were extensive and included Kāthiāvāḍ, south Gujarāt, Mevād and Mālva. From this we can easily infer that the Āndhra power had, in the west, diminished very much and its centre of gravity slowly began to shift towards the east. His son, Jayadāmā, seems to have lived and died a mere Kṣatrapa, without assuming the higher title, why we do not know.

The greatest King of this time was Rudradāmā, who succeeded to the throne, sometime before 52 Śaka (130 A. D.). Four Prākṛat stone-inscriptions of the time of Rudradāmā, dated in the year 52, *i. e.*, 130 A. D., have been recently brought to light and published by R. D. Banerji who says that,³ "The object of all four inscriptions is to record the erection of funeral monuments by the relatives of the deceased. In the inscriptions themselves these monuments are termed *laṣṭis*." One was erected by Madana, son of Sihila (Simhila) to the memory of his sister Jēṣṭavīrā, the daughter of Simhila of the Opaśati (Aupaśatika) *gotra*, on the second day of the dark half of Phaguṇa (Phālguna), during the reign of Rāja Rudradāman. The second was to the memory of Rṣabhadeva, son of the same Simhila erected by the same person as the former on the same day. The third too was built by the same man on the same day, to the memory of his wife, Yaśadatā, a *śrāmaṇerī*, daughter of Sihamitra of the Śeṇika *gotra*. On the same day was erected the fourth one for Rṣabhadeva, a *śrāmaṇerā*, by his father Treṣṭadata. These inscriptions were found in Kacch and are interesting only

1. Edited and translated by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.* vii. pp. 36-49.

2. *Bom. Gaz.* I. i. p. 22.

3. *E. I.* xvi. pp. 19-25.

because they prove that Rudradāmā's sway extended to the sea. The inscription of Rudradāmā's time that is most interesting to the historian is the Junāgaḍh one,² because it is the first Sanskrit inscription of some magnitude and shows that Sanskrit had begun to replace Prākṛt as the official language of Āryan courts in the II century A. D. This inscription is also very important for the history of Sanskrit literature. It is in the *kāvya* style, since used so very much in Sanskrit literature. The chief characteristics of this style are (a) the comparative rarity of the inflected forms of the finite verb in sentences ; there are two such in the text of this long inscription as preserved,—and that the very common ones *Vartate* and *āsīt*; and it had two more in its complete state, another *āsīt* and one more verb; (b) the decided preference of compounds to simple words; “on a rough calculation the text contains about 1330 syllables; about 440 of them belong to simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members.”¹ The *kāvya* style of this inscription proves, according to Bühler, that it could not have been a new discovery in the II century, but it must have had a long previous history which went back to the times when the Aryans were the exclusive rulers of India. For this reason, the Girnār *praśasti* makes probable the existence of the *kāvya* style in the first century.”² The fact that a casual record of a public engineering work composed by an ordinary court-scholar is composed in such excellent poetic prose indicates that prose-composition must have been practised for a long time for literary purposes.

We may go one step further than Bühler and point out that Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* points to the existence of a vast *kāvya* literature before his time. The various *Śāstras* also quote or refer to a long line of previous *Śāstras* composed during the thousand years that elapsed before the beginning of the Christian era, most of which have perished or been absorbed in later works.

The object of the inscription was to record the restoration, by *Suviśākha*, the son of Kulaipa, a Pallava ruler of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra, minister (*amātya*) of Rudradāmā, of the lake *Sudar-*

1. *Cat. Ind. Coins.* p. c.

2. *Ep. Ind.* viii, pp. 39—40.

3. *Ind. Ant.* 1913 p. 243.

śana, which was built during the reign of Caṇdragupta Maurya by his *Rāṣṭriya* (provincial governor), the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, which was adorned with conduits (*praṇāla*) by Aśoka's deputy, the *Yavana rāja* Tuṣāspha, and which was breached by a storm like that of the end of a *yuga* during Rudradāmā's time. The King is described in the inscription as Lord of Ākarāvanti, Anūpa, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Niṣādha, and other territories gained by his own valour and as having defeated the Yaudheyas and forgiven Sātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Ākarāvanti was Mālva, West and East; Anūpa, a district on the upper Narmadā; Surāṣṭra, Kāthiāvād, Śvabhva, a district on the banks of the Sabarmatī; Maru, Mārvād; Kaccha, Cutch; Sindhu-sauvīra, Sindh and part of Mūlvān; Kukura, part of East Rajputāna; Aparānta, Northern Koṅkan; and Niṣādha, the Vindhyan forest-region.¹ In most of these regions the Āndhras held sway before the rise of the Śaka dynasty of Mālva.

As the translation of the inscription by the great scholar Dr. Kielhorn cannot be improved upon, it is given below in full. It is a great pity that there are so many *lacunae*, thanks to the ravages of time. "This lake Sudarśana from Girinagara [even long distance] of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because all its embellishments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they are of stone, [clay] furnished with a natural dam, [formed by] and with well-provided conduits, drains and means to guard it against foul matter. three sections by . . . and other favours is (now) in an excellent condition. This same lake—on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the seventy-second—72nd year of the king. The Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmā whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of (and) son's son of the king, Mahākṣatrapa Lord Caṣṭana the taking of whose name is auspicious, when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted into one ocean, by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikatā, Palāsinī and other streams of mount Ūrjayat; the dam though proper precautions [were taken], the water churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore

1. *Āndhra coins*, pp. xxxi—xxxii, Lx.

down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper storeys, gates and raised places of shelter—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart] . . . with stones, trees, bushes, and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open to the bottom of the river :—By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, [and] seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake) almost like a sandy desert; [became] ugly to look at. . . . for the sake of . . . ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta; adorned with conduits for Aśoka the Maurya, by the Yavana king Tuṣaspha, while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam . . . he, who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles; who (showed) compassion . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him; who is the lord of the whole of the eastern and western Akarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Niṣādha and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, and where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained]; who by force destroyed the Yaudheyas who were loth to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kṣatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of the connection did not destroy him; who [obtained] victory . . .; who reinstates deposed kings; who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma; who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of grammar, music, logic and other great sciences; who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots, the use of sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other

... the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces ; who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment; who is bounteous; whose treasury by the tribute, trees, and shares right-fully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds and (other) precious things; who prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent in marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension, and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength: who himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa; who has been weighed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of king's daughters ;—he, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmā, in order to . . . cows and Brāhmaṇas for a thousand years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,—without oppressing the inhabitants of the town and country by taxes, forced labour, and acts of affection—by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length . . . [on] all [banks] . . . (and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

When in this matter the Mahākṣatrapa's councillors and executive officers, who, though full, endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach opposed the commencement (of the work), (and) when the people in their despair of having the dam built were loudly lamenting, (the work) was carried out by the minister Suviśākha, the son of Kuhaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (and) not be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame, and glory of his master."¹

This inscription of 150 A. D. has many points of interest to the historical student. First it describes the ideal of a king as conceived by the Brāhmaṇas of the II century A. D. The king's

1. *Ep. Ind.* viii, *op. cit.*
IV—33

chief function was to protect "towns, marts and rural parts (*nagara, nigama, janapada*) from "robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like", i.e., included the organization of a police force, a force of hunters of noxious animals, and of hospitals, besides the departments of public works and irrigation. He was assisted by a legislative assembly (*malisaciva*) and an executive council (*karmasaciva*), who together formed the cabinet of ministers (*amātya*). The form of government was, then, what would now-a-days be called constitutional monarchy and differed from it only in this fact that the 'constitution' did not grow gradually on account of the constant pull in opposite directions by the king and the legislative body, but came down from several centuries previously, having its origin in the ordinances of the *Śāstrakāras* developed from the references in Vedas to the practice of the Vedic age and gradually altered by the authors of the, *Dharma Śāstras* and *Artha Śāstras* from age to age to suit the exigencies of changing conditions of the country. The ideal of conduct and code of personal honour as described in the inscription is also worth noting. When kings departed very much from the ideals inculcated, they became so unpopular that they were removed (exiled or assassinated) by a rising of his subjects against him or their power became so weakened that the dynasty was easily replaced by a new dynasty. This was the "sanction" behind the constitution. In every family dry rot sets in after a few generations and royal families which have degenerated have to be removed from power in two or three hundred years. But the change of dynasties did not affect the position of the ministers or other important officers, who were all drawn from the highly educated classes either by royal selection or popular acclamation, without any elaborate system of vote-taking.

The list of royal accomplishments given in the inscription is no piece of courtly flattery, for in India from very old times, as the *Artha Śāstras*, the *Dharma Śāstras*, and the *kāvyas* unanimously testify, princes underwent a rigorous course of training and even those who developed moral or political debility in after years were well-known to be thoroughly accomplished in the arts and sciences of the day. Hindu *rājās* have always been noted for their intimate acquaintance with, and liberal patronage of, all knowledge—fine arts, military arts, the sciences and the industries. The tradition of the necessity of princes to

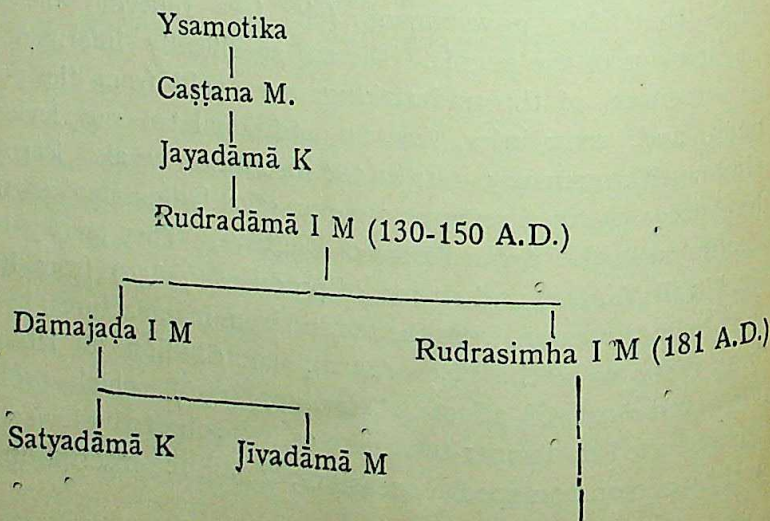
be highly accomplished is not yet dead in India. The inscription casually mentions some departments of knowledge of which princes were masters, such as the *Śāstras*, (especially, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*), grammar (*Śabdavidyā*), music (*gāndharva vidyā*, including dancing), logic (*nyāya*) and other great *vidyās*, which Rudradāmā memorized, meditated on, understood correctly and practised (*pāraṇadhāraṇavijñānaprayoga*). The arts mentioned are the managements of horses, elephants and chariots (*turaga-gaja-ratha-caryā*), the use of sword and shield, pugilistic combat, etc. (*asicarma viyuddhūdi*), and the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces (*parabalalāghavasauṣṭhavakriyā*), which means military tactics. Books on all these subjects existed in those days, including on the disposal of soldiers on the battlefield (called in those days *vyūha*), attributed to Skanda, and this fact may well be kept in mind by modern scholars who try to pull forward to many centuries A. D. Sanskrit books on these subjects. The inscriptions also tells us that in the second century after Christ there existed in the country volumes of prose and verse (*gadyapadya*), "clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned", (*sphuṭaḥḥumadhuracitrakāntaśabdasaṁayodārālaṅkṛta*). The whole phrase and especially the last word *alaṅkṛta* clearly indicates that rhetoric and poetics (*alankāraśāstra*) had been fully developed by that time.

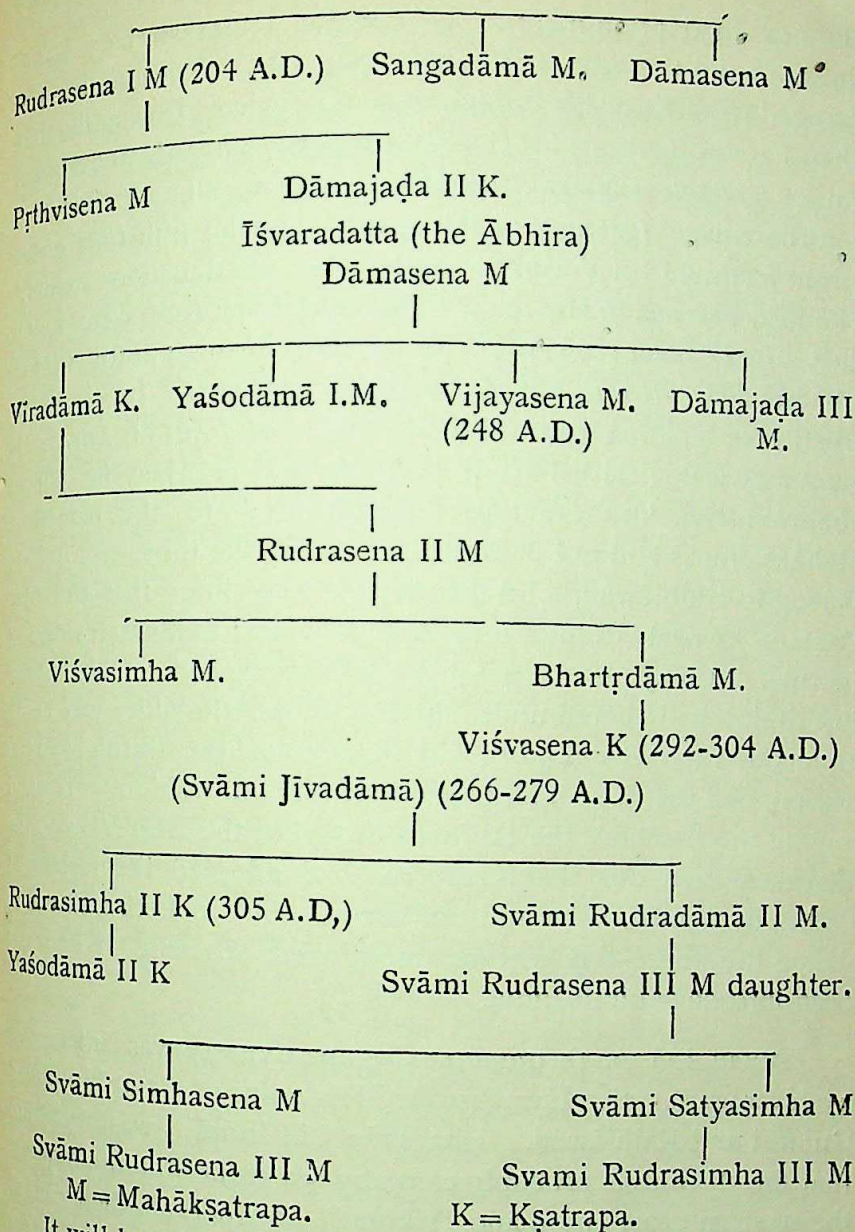
This inscription, besides informing us that a great work of engineering, which most of the counsellors and executive officers fought shy of, on account of the vastness of the work to be done, was carried out by the local governor, shows the extent of solicitude that the government felt for relieving the loud lamentations of the people. We are specifically informed that the expenses of the undertaking were paid from the public funds, and, may infer, that no additional tax was levied to reimburse the treasury. From the inscription we also learn that the sources of royal revenue were practically the same as those mentioned in the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya. They were tributes (*baḥi*), tolls (*śulka*) and shares of produce (*bhāga*) from below and above the earth, from the sea and from manufactures; besides these there were the taxes (*kara*), contribution of labourers (*viṣṭi*) and "acts of affection" (*praṇayakriyā*), which probably corresponded to a super-tax, more or less voluntarily levied from wealthy persons on special occasions, which, the inscription says,

Rudradāmā did not oppress the people by levying. The revenues were lodged in the treasury in the shape of gold, silver, diamonds and collections of other precious things (*vaidūrya-ratnopaçaya*).

The phrase "himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa" (*ṣvayam adhigatamahākṣatrapanāmnā*) has been misinterpreted to mean that he acquired the districts catalogued above by the might of his own arm; but it is a mere formal eulogy, for we know that Caṣṭana it was who conquered them. The only wars of Rudradāmā seem to have been two. The first one with the Yaudheyas, proud descendants of an old Kṣatriya tribe coming down from the days of the Mahābhārata war, who refused to submit to him. The second was with Śātakarṇi, whom he twice defeated and forgave. This Śātakarṇi was Rudradāmā's son-in-law, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi, the Siri Polemaios of Ptolemy. This war was the last attempt of the Āndhras to regain supremacy in Western India.

The successors of Rudradāmā are all known from their coins dated regularly in the Śaka era. They did not succeed in the regular line of primogeniture; why we do not know. Another puzzle about them is that some called themselves *Kṣatrapas*, and others *Mahākṣatrapas*. One of them, Rudrasimha called himself *Kṣatrapa* in 102-3 Śaka, *Mahākṣatrapa* in 103-110, then again *Kṣatrapa* in 110-2, and again *Mahākṣatrapa* in 113-9. The variations in the title perhaps corresponded to variations in extent of power, or to the having or not of feudatories. The succession lists of the Kṣatrapa Rājas, made out by Rapson in his *Catalogue of Indian coins*, p. clii is as follows :—





It will be seen from an inspection of the table of Kṣatrapa Rājās that the dynasty was threefold, the first ending with Dāmajaḍa II, the second with Viśvasena and the third with Rudrasimha. Of the first dynasty three inscriptions besides Rudradāmā's have been found.¹ One is undated and probably belongs to the time of Rudradāman's first son, Dāmajaḍa. It was discovered buried "in front of one of the cells of an extensive complex of caves in Girinagara (Junāgadh). The caves probably belonged to the Jainas, because the word *kevalī* can be deciphered in the inscription which is otherwise undecipherable.

1. E. I. xvi—201.

The next inscription mentions Rudrasīha (Rudrasimha I Mahākṣaṭrapa) and the year 103 Śaka (181 A. D.), Rudrasimha who changed from Kṣatrapa to Mahākṣatrapa twice. During the time when he was Kṣatrapa for the first time, his *senāpati* Rudrabhūti, son of *senāpati* Bāpaka, the Ābhīra, dug a well and embanked it at the village (*grāma*) of Rasopadra on the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha under the constellation Rohiṇi.¹ The next belongs to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I and the year 127 Śaka (265 A. D.) in the dark fortnight, fifth *tithi* of Bhādrapada. It is in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛt. It records the erection of a *śatra* (probably a dialectical form of *satra*). It gives a genealogical list from Caṣṭana and prefixes the phrase *bhadramukha*, 'of gracious appearance,' to the names of Mahākṣatrapas and not of Kṣatrapas.² All the three inscriptions belong to Kāthiāwāḍ, and hence we may infer that the first Caṣṭana dynasty did not lose the province of Surāṣṭra during its rule. It may also be pointed out that the style of dating the inscription had altered under the Kṣatrapas, the older way being to mention the season (*ṛtu*), the number of the fortnight in the season, and the *divasa*, all in Prākṛt; this old fashion continued among the Āndhras, the *Pallavas* of *Kañcī*, the Ābhīras and the Ikṣvākus, even after the Kṣatrapas had adopted the fashion of dating in months, *tithis* and *nakṣatras*. But in both fashions of dating the week—day was not mentioned, because it had not been introduced into India.

About 235 A. D. this first Caṣṭana dynasty was interrupted by Īśvaradatta (also Īśvarasena). His coins are found in Mālva, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ. Bhagavān Lāl Indrāji was of opinion that the "Ābhīras probably came by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa" in Aparānta their capital. Īśvaradatta was their leader. "He probably attacked, and gained a victory over, the Kṣatrapas. When he had consolidated his power, he began to issue his own coins, copying the Kṣatrapa coinage of the district."³ He assumed the titles Rājā and Kṣatrapa and founded an era on 5th September, 248 A. D., known as the Traṅkūṭaka era and later as the Kalacuri or Cedi era. Īśvaradatta is probably the same as Māḍharī-

1. E. I. xvi, p. 235.

2. E. I. xvi, p. 239.

3. *Bom. Gaz.* I, ii, p. 194, *Cat. Ind. Coins.* p. cxxxvi.

putra Īśvarasena, in whose reign Viṣṇudattā, a *Sakāni*, made an endowment of money to provide medicines for the sick among the monks of any sect residing on Mount Triraśmi¹. Apparently gratuitous medical help to the poor was a standing institution in ancient India which, besides kings, ordinary people patroined.

The second Caṣṭana dynasty ruled up to 304 A. D. But during 266 A. D. to 279 A. D. Svāmi Jivadāmā of a collateral branch of the line was ruling over Mālva without bearing any title indicative of royalty—*rājā* or *kṣatrapa*. In 279 A.D. the 13th year of the reign, which was increasing *svarājya* and victorious, of Jivadāmā, the valiant, the possessor of sunlike heroism (*āditya-vīrya*), the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śrīdharavarmā* the Śaka, son of Nanda the Śaka, made a reservoir of water (*jalanidhi*), pure and sweet to the sight, and accessible to all, at all times.² The inscription informs us further that Śrīdhara was a *dharma vijaya*, 'conqueror through *dharma*', as Aśoka claimed to be five hundred years before. The phrase was not new when Aśoka used it, the ideal of *dharmavijaya* being an old Hindu one. The date of the inscription is given as *Śrāvaṇabāhulasya daśamī*, the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa. This fashion of dating in the *tithi*, *śuddha* or *bahula* (bright or dark *pakṣa*) of the lunar months was introduced by the Kṣatrapas and followed later by other dynasties and is now universal. Hence we have to infer that at Ujjayinī, the head-quarters of India, astronomical studies throughout the ages, which lies on the central meridian to which all Indian astronomers have to adjust their calculations, there already existed an active school of astronomy, patronized by the Kṣatrapa *rājās* and competent to correct the calendars and to act as the *jyotiḥ śāstrācāryas* for the whole of India.

The third Caṣṭana dynasty was founded by Jivadāmā's son, Rudrasimha II, Kṣatrapa, who began to strike coins in 305 A. D. The last Kṣatrapa coin is dated in 397 A. D. but by that time the power of the Kṣatrapas had very much shrunk, and a line of kings whose name ended in Varmā had begun to rule in a part of Mālva so early as 300 A. D., and the last Kṣatrapa king Rudra-

1. *Ep. Ind.* viii. p. 88.

2. *Ep. Ind.* viii. p. 232.

simha III, "the king of the Śakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Candragupta [II], concealed in his mistress's dress", circa 400 A. D. Bāṇa¹ wrote about it two centuries after the event but V. A. Smith rejects his testimony with the airy remark that "the tale does not look like genuine history." I do not propose to criticise Smith's claim to be able to separate fact from fiction from the 'look' of the statement of a competent authority, but feel bound to point out that his own account of the end of the Kṣatrapa dynasty may be poetry but is certainly not history. He says, "we may feel assured that differences of race, creed and manners supplied the Gupta monarch with special reasons for desiring to suppress the impure foreign rulers of the West. Candragupta Vikramāditya . . . cannot but have experienced peculiar satisfaction 'in violently uprooting' foreign chieftains who probably cared little for caste rules".² All this is pure romancing because Rudradāmā, one of the early kings of this line is not only described as an ideal Hindu *rājā*, and a master of all Śāstras, but specially as one 'through whose might *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* are fulfilled' and 'who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma'. Again his successors patronized the premier Śāstrins of the time, who acted as leaders of the whole of India.

Surāṣṭra, Mālva and Koṅkaṇ were, from their geographical position, the districts of India which had a very expensive commercial intercourse with Persia, Arabia, East Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean coast of Europe, from very early times. This trade reached its greatest development when the Kṣatrapas ruled at Ujjayinī and an account of it is deriveable from the pages of the *Periplus*. From its central position and from the fact that roads led to the city from North India as well as the seaports on the West and East of India, it was the great entre-port of this immense trade. The Kṣatriya kings encouraged, and took part in this trade, for the direct proceeds from inland and foreign trades, besides customs duties, was the chief source of the immense wealth of Indian *rājās*, the revenue from land-taxes, which were only one sixth of the produce, being but small in volume. In the interests of this trade several embassies went from India, both by land and by sea, to the Roman emperors. Most of them went from Ujjayinī. Ptolemy, as we have seen, mentions Tiast-

1. Bāṇa. *Harṣacarita*, Bk. vi.

2. *Early Hist. of Ind.* iv Ed. p. 309.

henes of Oyene¹. The embassy that went to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa (Elgabulus), who ruled from A.D. 218—222, and whose chief was not in Mesopotamia by Sardesanes was from a Kṣatrapa Rājā². Its head was Sandames, *i. e.* a man of the name of Candra (Tsanda). Bardesanes was especially struck by the Indian ascetic philosophers of the Brāhmaṇa and Jaina varieties—the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas—by their vegetable food and contempt of death, and the honour they received from kings and the common people. Stobaios, quoting from Bardasanes describes, the ordeal by water prevalent among the Indians. He also describes an Indian cave temple, such as it was fashionable to excavate in the early centuries of the Christian era, in central India; this one was dedicated to Ardhanārīśvara. "There is," he says, a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country, wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded cross-wise and the right half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the continuation, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body"³. 'The commercial intercourse of which this embassy was an incident led to colonies of Indian traders (and scholars) being settled in Alexandria till 215 A. D., when Caracalla massacred the Alexandrians and expelled the foreigners⁴, after which Indian trade reached the Roman empire partly *via* Abyssinia and partly *via* Asia minor.

One result of this intercourse, so far as India was concerned, was that Indian savants studied Greek astrology and its hand-aiden astronomy and introduced it at Ujjayinī in the age of the Kṣatrapas. Before this time there prevailed in India Vedic Astronomy, which regarded the Sun as the central god of the Bhūloka and was not tainted by astrological notion such as that

1. *Ind. Ant.* 1884, p. 360.

2. Mc Crindle. *Ind. Ant.* pp. 169-174.

3. "Such figures are to be found in the rock-temples and on Scythian [*i. e.*, Śaka Pallava] coins". Mc Crindle's note. *Ind. Ant.* p. 73.

4. *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 953 (Kennedy), IV—34

the sun was, as the Greeks thought, a planet, like Venus, Mars, and Jupiter and that a malevolent one. The object of the *Vedāṅga jyotiṣa* was the measure of time and the equation of the lunar year with the solar year for the purpose of fixing correctly the proper season for the commencement of the Vedic *Yajñas*: its objects, during the long ages when Vedic culture dominated India, were not the prediction of events in the life of the individual or the mollification of the evil planets. The Indian year was measured with reference to the apparent motion of the sun and the moon among the stars and was divided into three seasons of eight *pakṣas* each, and the difference between the solar and the lunar years adjusted by the addition of two lunar months once in five years, which formed a Vedic *yuga*. The idea of seven planets and that of a week of seven days, each ruled by one of these planets is quite unknown to the Vedas or the literature dependent on them. They came from the Greeks. Taking our Greek Astronomic-Astrology the scholars of Ujjayini developed it in ways of their own and modern Indian Astronomic Astrology was the result.

(To be continued).

LIFE OF COKKANĀTHA MAKHIN OF KAUŚIKA GOTRA FROM LITERARY SOURCES.

BY

N. VAIDYANATHA SASTRI, ŚIROMANI.

Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore.

Cokkanātha Makhin was the son of Nārāyaṇa, who had performed the *Dvādaśāhkratu* and who was widely recognised by the name of *Saṅcāribhāṣya*. He belonged to Kauśika gotra and Kaṇḍramāṇikka bṛhaccaraṇa community. His mother was called Gaṇapati.¹ He was so proficient in Vyākaraṇa that he was called by Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, the author of Jānakīpariṇaya, शाब्दिकसार्वभौम.²

After studying Vyākaraṇa under his own father, he studied Śrauta and Mīmāṃsā under Veṅkaṭeśamakhin, the son of Govindamakhin, who was the minister of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore and who was the living at Tiruvālūr or Maṇigrāma (modern Maṇikkuṭi) a village near Tiruvālūr. Encouraged by his ācārya, Cokkanātha wrote his Bhāṣyaratnāvalī and Dhātu-

1. शिवं गणपतिं चाम्बां द्वादशाहादियाजिनम् ।

तातं नारायणं नत्वा धातुपाठं समारभे ॥

इति संचारिभाष्यश्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिनः ।

पुत्रेण चोक्कनाथेनादादिः पद्यैरलंकृतः ॥ धातुरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

इति श्रीकौशिककुलतिलकसंचारिभाष्यश्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिपौत्रेण शब्दतन्त्रस्व-
तन्त्रचोक्कनाथशास्त्रिपुत्रेण बालपतञ्जलिद्वादशाहयाजिना कृतायां शब्दकौमुदी-
व्याख्यायां शाब्दिकरक्षाख्यायां कारकप्रकरणम् ।

2. अप्रत्युपनित्यसमस्तपदप्रबोध-

विश्राणनोपकृतिनिस्तुलितानुकम्पम् ।

शेषं द्वितीयमिव शाब्दिकसार्वभौमं

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनं गुरुमानतोऽस्मि ॥ परिभाषावृत्तिव्याख्या by
रामभद्रदीक्षित ।

ratnāvalī. During his stay there, he became a staunch devotee of Tyāgēśa.¹

He had a wide circle of pupils receiving instruction from him in Śrauta and Vyākaraṇa. He was so much pleased with the shrewd intellect of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita who studied Vyākaraṇa under him that he gave away his daughter in marriage to him. The latter felt so deeply grateful to his father-in-law that he never failed to pay homage to him in any of his works. The way in which Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita refers to Cokkanātha clearly shows how great a pandit Cokkanātha was. In some places he refers to him as शब्दकौमुद्याः कविः, sometimes as चोक्कनाथमखिप्रवराः, sometimes as श्रौतधर्मा इव मूर्तिमन्तः, sometimes as शाब्दिकसार्वभौमः etc.²

1. उमासहायः परमः प्रीयतामीश्वरोऽमुना ।

ईशानं सर्वविद्यानामीश्वरं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

ब्रह्मवेदाधिपं वन्दे त्यागेशं स शिवोऽस्तु मे ॥

धातुरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

त्यागेशदेशिकनिदेशवशंवदानां

आजानभक्तिवशनीतसदाशिवानाम् ।

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनां निखिलेडितानाम्

उल्लासयन्तु मम वाचमपाङ्गलीलाः ॥

गीतासुन्दरम् by सदाशिवदीक्षित

श्रीमद्वीथिविटङ्कशङ्करकृपास्फारीभवत्साहिती-

त्रैविद्येन कृतार्थयन् कविवरान् विद्वज्जनग्रामणीः ।

श्रीगोविन्दमखीन्द्रनन्दनमखिश्रीयज्ञनारायण-

स्फीतादृष्टकृतोदयो विजयते श्रीवेङ्कटेशाध्वरी ॥

तेनायं प्रहितः फणीश्वरफणामाणिक्यसम्मण्डिते

त्यागेशाङ्घ्रियुगे फणीन्द्ररचितां तां भाष्यरत्नावलीम् ।

सारामर्पयतेऽर्थपूष्टिनिपुणां प्रीत्यै भवानीपतेः

संस्कारज्वलितां तमः प्रणुदतीं श्रीचोक्कनाथः सुधीः ॥

भाष्यरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

2. फणिग्रामणिवाग्मुष्फप्राणनाडयदुक्तये ।

कलये शब्दकौमुद्याः कवये गुरवे नमः ॥

उणादिमणिदीपिका by रामभद्रदीक्षित

प्रारि — आं स्मरामि यस्मै किल निखिलविद्वज्जनश्लाघनीयवैदुष्यशास्त्रवद्भादर-

Sadāśiva Dikṣita who spent the evening of his life in the court of Tulaja or Tukkoji (1729 A. D. to 1735 A. D.) at Tanjore and who is the author of गीतासुन्दरम् was also one of Cokkanātha's pupils. In one of his verses he suggests that the real name of Cokkanātha was Sundarēśvara and that of his wife, Mīnākṣī.¹

Cokkanātha seems to have taken his son-in-law to the court of Madura, where Nilakanṭhamakhin, who possibly studied under Veṅkaṭēśamakhin along with him, was the chief minister of the Nāyak-ruler and the President of the Pandits' Board. Rāma-bhadra Dikṣita so well acquitted himself in Madura that he was highly appreciated by the Pandits there and richly rewarded for

शिष्यसहस्रसंभाव्यमाननिजप्रभावाः श्रौतधर्मा इव मूर्तिमन्तस्तत्रभवन्त-
श्चोक्कनाथमखिप्रवराः वितीर्णवन्तोऽपि प्रथममात्मकन्यकामन्यामिव पुनरपि स्नेहेन
निरवद्यां वितरन्ति स पदविद्याम् ॥

शृङ्गारतिलकम् by रामभद्र

यं भाष्यं महदध्यजीगपट्टपिः श्रीचोक्कनाथाध्वरी

यो रामस्य च नीलकण्ठमखिना बाणस्तवं कारितः ।

व्याचष्टे किल रामभद्रमखिनस्तस्याप्ताशिष्यः कृतिं

भोगीन्द्रस्य च वेङ्कटेश्वरकविर्यस्यां निबद्धं यशः ॥

पतञ्जलिचरितव्याख्या by वेङ्कटेश

यस्यानुग्रहदृष्टिर्मर्पयति श्रीबालकृष्णो गुरुः

सोऽयं दीव्यति चोक्कनाथमखिनामक्रीतदासः कविः ॥

जानकीपरिणयम् by रामभद्र

1. श्रीमद्भोसलवंशरत्नतुलजक्षमापालचूडामणेः

कल्याणं कलयन्तु सन्ततममी लीलाविशेषोज्ज्वलाः ।

कामं हेमपयोजिनीपरिसरे मध्येकदम्बद्रुमं

मीनाक्ष्या सह सुन्दरेश्वरविभोरानङ्गनित्योत्सवाः ॥

श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनां निखिलेडितानां

उल्लासयन्तु मम वाचमपाङ्गलीलाः ॥

गीतासुन्दरम् by सदाशिवदीक्षित

यस्य स्तौति मतिं मनीषिसदसि श्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी

कोण्डज्योतिषिकश्च यस्य कुरुते सम्मानमार्यैस्समम् ।

जानकीपरिणयम् by रामभद्र

his scholarship and erudition, even though he was introduced to the assembly of the Pandits for the first time.¹

Cokkanātha's works known to us are शब्दकौमुदी, भाष्यरत्नावली and धातुरत्नावली.

It is understood that a portion of भाष्यरत्नावली is in the Temple Manuscript Library at Tiruvaḍamarudūr.

The manuscript of धातुरत्नावली is found in the Tanjore Palace Library. This is a small work containing 430 verses dealing with the roots of ten conjugations with their peculiarities. It is worth while publishing it and Sanskrit students, at the early stage of their study, may, with advantage, memorise those verses.

Manuscripts of शब्दकौमुदी are found both in the Tanjore Palace Library and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.² The commentary on the same called शाब्दिकरक्षा written by his son बालपतञ्जलिद्वादशाहयाजिन्³ is found in the Tanjore Palace Library.

I believe that all his works were highly appreciated by contemporary scholars and particularly by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.⁴

1. सर्वशास्त्राणि स्वातन्त्र्येण विवृण्वतां नीलकण्ठमखिनां सदसि सकृत्प्रविष्टस्यापि समुल्लसति सरसपदसन्दर्भवैदग्ध्यो ॥ शृङ्गारतिलकम् by रामभद्र.

2. Reference to शब्दकौमुदी is found in the Tamil Pirayōkavivēkam by Subrahmanya Dīkṣita thus:—இந்தாலுட் சந்தேகந் தோன்றுவதனை மகாபாடியம், கையடம், சித்தாந்தகௌமுதி, சந்தகௌமுதி, வாக்கியபதியம், அரிபீடிகை, தாதுவிருத்தி, பதமஞ்சரி, சந்தகௌத்துவம் கற்றவரைக்கேட்க.

3. This बालपतञ्जलि might be identical with the 'Patañjali' referred to by Subrahmanya Dīkṣita, a native of Kurukūr (modern Ālvārtirunakari) in Pirayōkavivēkam, a grammatical treatise in Tamil, since he is said to have lived in Malabar and he was one of the brothers-in-law of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita.

சிதன சந்திர முகராம பத்திர தீக்கிதர்க்குப்
போதொடு சென்று புகல்வோ மவர்க்கும் பொழுதில்லையென்
மேதினி யிற்றமிழ் செய்பிர யோக விவேகந்தன்னைப்
பேதமி லாத பதஞ்சலி பாற்சென்று பேசுவமே.

4. श्रीमद्वाक्यपदप्रमाणगहनप्रच्छादितोच्चावचः-
स्कीतार्थप्रतिपादनार्थनिपुणश्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी ।

The name Cokkanātha might have been given to him by the Cokkanātha Nāyak (1662 A. D. to 1682 A. D.) who ruled at Madura, in recognition of his scholarship.

His date. He was a contemporary of Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita who wrote his नीलकण्ठविजयचम्पू in 1638 A. D.; he studied under Venkaṭeśamakhin who was in the court of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore who began to rule in 1614 A. D.; and Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita was patronised by the King Sāhaji of Tanjore who ruled from 1684 to 1710 A. D., as is evident from the grant of Sāharājapuram which states that 'four shares were given to Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, a Ṛgvedi Brāhmaṇa of the Kaundinya gotra and Āśvalāyana sūtra, son of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and grandson of Nallādīkṣita. From these facts it is easy to conclude that Cokkanātha should have lived in the 17th century after Christ.

The traditional account about Cokkanātha is as follows :— Cokkanātha's grandfather was called Bhāṣyam, his father along with his brother Anṇāśāstrin received a grant of some lands at Pinnaṅkuṭi, a village near Kuṭumiyāmalai in Pudukottah state. Cokkanātha's śarman was Sundareśvara and he became a sannyāsin in the eve of his life. He had, in addition to his daughter who was married to Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, three sons Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya, Bālacandra and Vaidyanātha, of whom Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya, a sound scholar in Sāmaveda and Śrauta, was the court vidvān at Pudukottah and Tanjore; Bālacandra appears to be the śarman of Dvādasāhayāji Bālapatañjali. The latter seems to have left Pinnaṅkuṭi and settled near Malabar, possibly patronised by the kings at Madura. This is inferred from the fact that Nārāyaṇa, the eldest son of Nārāyaṇasubrahmaṇya had no issue and adopted Subrahmaṇya, one of the four grandsons of Bālacandra from Malabar.¹

This Cokkanātha should not be confounded with Cokkanātha makhin, the son of Sudarśana bhaṭṭa; and he should be differen-

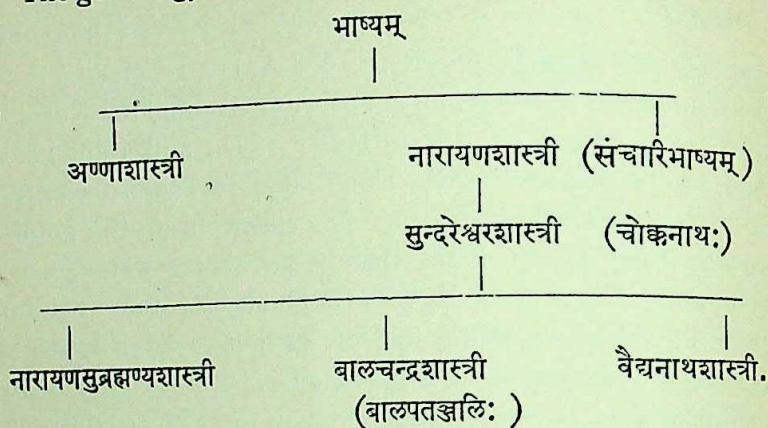
यं भाष्यप्रकटीकृतौ घटयते द्वेधार्थदानात्कृति
तस्यान्ये सुधियः कथं न विमलाः पुष्णीयुरर्थप्रदाः ॥

भाष्यरत्नावली by चोक्कनाथ

1. I am indebted to Dr. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Asst. Editor, Tamil Lexicon, who is the grandson of Bālapatañjali's grandson for this information.

tiated from Cokkanātha, the son of the famous Tippādhvarin, the latter two Cokkanātha's not belonging to Kauśika gotra.

The genealogy of Cokkanātha may be represented as follows:-



AŚOKA'S RELIGION THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

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Years ago Buhler wrote that in his view 'a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brāhmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life.' He continued that he was convinced that a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's Empire agreed with those prescribed by the Brāhmanical *Rājanīti* and that certain other details would be intelligible with the consultation of other *śāstras*. "This conviction" the learned indologist continues to remark, "of course has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms."¹ A careful study of the inscriptions of Aśoka and the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra* demonstrates beyond doubt that what Buhler gave out as a suggestion has after all its basis in fact. An endeavour has been made by me elsewhere to interpret various words and terms in the inscriptions in the light of the Kauṭaliyan texts.² A comparative study of the details has led me to the one conclusion that after all there is very little of Buddhism if epigraphical testimony is alone to be relied upon.

An attempt is made here to discuss the monuments of Aśoka and see how far they help us in determining his religion. According to tradition Aśoka was a great builder of cities, *stūpas* and pillars. The founding of two cities Śrinagara, the capital of Kāśmir and Dēva-paṭṭaṇa (Deo-pātan) of Nepal are ascribed to him. With regard to the *stūpas* or monasteries there is an incredible legend in the *Mahāvamśa* (Ch. V.) according to which Aśoka caused 84,000 *vihāras* to be built all over India. This is incredible as can be gathered from the number (84,000) which is

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 246.

2. See my forthcoming book on the *Maurayan Polity*.
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certainly fantastic. Fa-hien the Buddhist enthusiast easily believed this version to which he has given currency¹. Coming to the pillars Fa-hien noticed six² and Yuan Chwang fifteen³. Of these about five can now be identified among the existing monuments. Among the latter again there are pillars discovered by the spade of the archaeologist which find no mention in the memorable despatches of the two Chinese travellers.

A remarkable instance in this connection is the discovery of Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar with no capital and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar, the capital being bell-shaped 'with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north.'⁴ These contain the inscriptions of Aśoka in beautifully cut characters. Again Yuan Chwang makes no mention of the pillar at Kauśāmbī or the edict pillar at Sārnāth in his itinerary⁵. Though the absence of a reference would appear strange at first sight, still these Chinese visitors could not be set to have exhausted the list. Surely they noted such of those which they observed in person and those which they gathered only by hearsay. It is a known fact that by the time of their visit the knowledge of Aśokan script has become past history and there were hardly any expert linguist to decipher those inscriptions, when these Chinese pilgrims could record "wrong readings of these inscriptions, the results of mere guess-work or hearsay information of local people".⁶ It is also possible their record of monuments suffered from such defects. The following may be cited as the two instances where their accuracy is open to question. Cunningham who discovered an elephant pillar in the village of Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district identified it with the pillar at Sankassa noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, who mistook a lion for the elephant at its top.⁷ Though it is contended that Sankisa was not Sankassa, still there is a difference of opinion among scholars and the question cannot be taken once for all conclusive. Again if the

1. Legge's trans. p. 69.

2. *Ibid.* p. 80.

3. Watters I, 334 and 383; II, 5, 6, 28 etc.

4. See Ar. Report Vol. I, pp. 67-73.

5. *Ar. Sur. of India* An Report for 1922-23, p. 13.

6. R. K. Mookerjee *Aśoka*, Préfatory note, pp. VII and VIII.

7. *Ar. Sur. of India* An. Report Vol. I, p. 274.

pillar at Sārnāth discovered by Oertel¹ can be identified with that mentioned by Yuan Chwang, then there is justification to call the latter's statement incorrect. For the discovered pillar measures only thirty-seven feet above ground, while the pillar of Yuan Chwang is mentioned as seventy feet in height nearly double its size.²

Either Yuan Chwang refers to a different pillar altogether, or his calculation is wrong. According to V. A. Smith notwithstanding the discrepancy, the pillar must be that seen by Yuan Chwang.³ These discrepancies in the accounts of the Chinese travellers considerably detract the value of these documents as original sources of information. Many of the monuments mentioned therein are yet to be discovered, and the few so far discovered do not bear infallible testimony as to their correctness and accuracy. We must not forget the fact that these travellers visited India centuries after Aśoka's death, and to them the history of his monuments and his inscriptions was mostly the history of tradition as it is to us to-day. Again their accounts proceed on the assumption that Aśoka was a devout Buddhist, and this conviction has led them to find a specially Buddhistic interpretation of such monuments. The discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and a new interpretation of the words and terms in the Edicts in the light of that treatise lead us to another direction to conclude that Aśoka was mainly Brahmanical in religion. It is regretted that this problem has not yet had adequate treatment at the hands of the scholars. Perhaps these parallels will tend to demolish the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist. And after all Buddhism of the days of Aśoka was not very much different from the established religion of the land.⁴

Advocates of the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist emperor, have endeavoured to find explanation, sometimes forced and sometimes unconvincing, for setting up pillars at different places in which we find them to-day, and secondly for the animal symbolism which characterises some of these monuments. In

1. *Ar. Sur.* Report 1904-5 p. 69.
2. On Yuan Chwang, Watters N. P. II 50; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western world*. Vol. II, p. 46.
3. *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXV, p. 230.
4. See my article on the *Early History of Buddhism*. B. H. S. Vol. II, pp. 51-74.

these explanations these writers are mainly guided by the accounts of the two Chinese travellers whose trustworthiness has to be taken at a discount in the light of critical examination.

We propose to tackle this problem from independent sources by applying the well known historical method. It is generally agreed that the pillars and even the *stūpas* are no innovations of Aśoka and could be traced to much earlier times. This point is brought home by Aśoka's own words. He says that he enlarged to twice its size the *stūpa* of Konāgamana, the previous Buddha at Nigliṃva.¹ From this it would appear that the *stūpa* of Konāgamana existed before Aśoka, though it is not possible to fix the origin of the building to a definite date. Again both in the Minor Rock Edict (Rūpnāth text)² and in the Pillar Edict VII³ Aśoka says that his proclamation was caused to be inscribed wherever pillars of stone existed in his empire, so as to give an element of permanence to the record of his achievements. This means Aśoka disowns the erection by him of all monolithic columns generally ascribed to him. These monuments were already there and a statesman like Aśoka found them convenient material to inscribe his Edicts so as to make them widely known to the public in all quarters of the Empire.

It is rather difficult to trace the origin of monasteries in India. Wherever the ascetics congregated in large numbers, there arose a monastery, whether they were the followers of the orthodox religion or whether they succeeded from it. Monastic organisation did not commence with the Buddha for we know it is the Brāhman sannyāsin who formed the model for the sage of Kapilavastu to put his institution on a more stable basis. In fact the philosophical side of Buddhism can be traced to the epoch of the early Indus Valley civilisation as testified by the recent finds in Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Referring to a broken statuette at Mohenjodaro, R. Chanda remarks: "This 'priest' of Mohenjo-

1. Nigali Sagar Pillar, *Corpus*, p. 165.

2. ह्य च अभि सालठभेसिलठंभसि लाखापेतवय त ॥ Nigali Sagar Pillar, *Corpus*, p. 165).

3. इयं धंमलिवि अत अभि सिलाभंभानि व । सिलाफलकानि वा तत् कटवियाएनएस चिलठितिके सिया । *Corpus*, p. 166.

Delhi-topra, *Ibid.* p. 131.

darō in whom we propose to recognise the prototype of the images of Buddha and Jina, is not found in isolation, but other elements of Buddhism or rather the primitive background of Buddhism are also traceable in the Chalcolithic religion of the Indus valley. One of these is the cult of the *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*) worshipped by the Buddhists as the Bodhi tree of Gautama Buddha. A seal unearthed at Mohenjodaro shows a *Pīpal* tree with twin heads springing from the trunk."¹

The same antiquity can also be claimed with regard to the pillars. *Stambha*,² *sthūnā*,³ *sthānu*,⁴ *dhvaja*⁵ are the terms in the *R̥gveda Samhitā* to denote pillars or posts. Of these the *dhvaja* is exclusively used in warfare and means a standard so much so that the Mahābhārata uses the term *dhvajinī* in the sense of an army.

In the *Kāthaka Samhitā* the term *stambha* occurs in the sense of a pillar⁶ as also in the *sūtras*.⁷ There is of course the familiar expression *yūpa* in all the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* meaning a post thereby. Like the *dhvaja*, the *yūpa* was meant for a particular purpose. It was always associated with the Vedic *yajñas*.⁸ Thus the pillars represented certain symbols, religious or secular to the Vedic Indian as also to the later Indian. In the Epics and the Purāṇas there are references to the *Indradhvaja* and its worship.⁹

According to the Purāṇas it was only a post of wood that was the chief object of worship in the festival of *Indradhvaja*. Kauṭalya refers to the fixing of a pillar, six parts of which are to form its height on the floor, twice that to be entered into the ground, and one fourth to serve as capital.¹⁰

1. See Ramprasad Chanda: *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India*. No. 41 p. 34.

2. I. 34. 2.

3. I. 59. 1.

4. X. 40. 13.

5. VII. 85. 2.

6. xxx. 9.

7. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 483.

8. *Ibid.* p. 194.

9. *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 421-433 *Rāma*, *Kiṣkindha*, ch. 16, st. 35.

10. स्तम्भस्य परिक्षेपाः षड्व्यायामाद्विगुणो निखातः चूलिकायाश्चतुर्भागः ।

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The *Mānasāra*, the accredited work on architecture has a long chapter on the *stambha*¹ where different kinds of columns for different purposes are defined with regard to their size, shape, and moulding. To these may be added the phallus pillar—*linga-mudrā-stambha*.²

In the Archaeological Report for the year 1861-62 A. Cunningham in the course of his remarks on the Lauriya-Nandangarh Pillar which stands in the direct route from Bettiah to Nepal says: 'the pillar itself has now become an object of worship as phallus or *lingam*', this being traditionally ascribed to Bhīma the Pāṇḍava prince.³ In this connection it may be pointed out that tradition ascribes some pillars to the five Pāṇḍava brothers and especially to Bhīmasena. A tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital, the Pathari Pillar, containing inscription of Parabala in the Bhopal Agency of Central India goes to-day by the name of Bhīmasen.⁴ Another noteworthy point to which we wish to draw attention is that the pillar as a religious symbol did not exclusively relate to the phallus and hence the cult of Śiva. We have instances of Lakṣmī pillar. The pillar is regarded as goddess Lakṣmī and worshipped as such. For a monolith pillar of Lakṣmī-Kambha,⁵ we have inscriptional evidence of pillars of victory (*jayastambha*) erected by Samudragupta at Allahabad, by Rājārāja⁶ and by Dēvarāja II.⁷ The above survey shows how from the days of the *R̥gveda Samhitā* down to the Vijayanagar times, these pillars have been erected with some object in view, secular or religious. It then transpires that monolithic columns were not a special feature of Aśoka architecture. They existed before him and were also erected many years after him. Aśoka caused his Edicts to be inscribed on the free standing pillars. Some he might have erected but most of them already stood.

Modern Archaeological study attributes the following monuments among others to this Mauryan Emperor.

1. Ch. XV.

2. *Ep. Car.* Vol. XII, No. 108.

3. Vol. I, p. 74.

4. *Ar. Sur. of India.* Vol. X, p. 70: *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 248 ff.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 168-169.

6. *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168.

7. *Ibid.* pp. 163 and 165.

(1) The enlarging of the *stūpa* of Konāgamana.
 (2) Erecting of three sets of caves in the Barabar Hills of Bihar.

(3) The *stūpa* at Sāñcī.

(4) A *stūpa* at Bhārhut.

(5) Four uninscribed pillars—those at Rāmpurvā with bull capital, Sankisa with elephant capital, Bakhra (Vaiśālī) with lion capital, and Kōsam (Kauśāmbī) with no capital.¹ According to Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani the capital no doubt originally crowned the pillar.

(6) Other so-called Aśokan pillars are those discovered at Tōpra, and Meerut (removed by Firoz Tuglak to Delhi in 1356 A. D.), Allahabad, Lauṛiya-Ararāj, Lauṛiya—Nandangarh, Rāmpurvā, Sāñcī, Sārnāth, Rummindēi and Niglīva. These contain his inscriptions.²

In the examination of Aśoka's religion, however, the animal capitals more than the pillars themselves are pressed into service. V. A. Smith who has discussed this question in an article in the Z. D. M. G.³, taking for granted the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, observes :

9	examples of	lion
2	„	elephant
2	„	bull
1	„	horse
1	„	wheel
1	„	garuḍa
1	„	man
2	„	four lions back to back.

and thus finds the lion to be the favourite symbol. The same writer has tried to interpret what these animals symbolised. Of these again the lion, the elephant, the bull, and the horse are explained as the riding animals of the guardians of four quarters. They are Vaiśravaṇa or Kubēra with the lion on the

1. See *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1922-23, p. 13.

2. Bakhra and Rāmpurvā pillars are assigned to the reign of Bindusāra (*Memoirs of Ar. Sur.* No. 30, p. 31).

3. Vol. LXV, pp. 221-240.

north,¹ Dhṛtarāṣṭra with the elephant on the East, Virūḍha² with horse on the South, and Virūpakṣa with the bull on the West. This theory is said to be current as tradition in Ceylon, supported, according to him, by the evidence of archaeology. From this Smith formulates the theory³ of the universality of the church, 'the congregation from the four quarters, present and absent'. Secondly the lion is the *vāhana* or the riding animal of Kubēra the king of the Yakṣas, and this god is worshipped by the Buddhists from Khotan to Ceylon.

Thirdly the selection of the symbol was influenced in some cases by the origin of monks.

Fourthly the number four has some mystic significance but it does not occur to him.

We shall now proceed to examine these statements in seriatim. It is possible that some of the animals are the *vāhanas* or the guardians of four quarters. But the Ceylon tradition adverted to by Vincent Smith is incredible for the reason it is neither the Buddhist view nor the Brahmanical view. For example we do not meet with the word Dhṛtarāṣṭra and even Virūḍha in the sense of a god affording protection to a certain *dik* or quarter in the accredited early Buddhist works like the *Jātakas*. If these deities have anything to do with the Buddhist conception of the four quarters of the world, it is just possible that they should have been mentioned in some connection or other. It would then appear that the Ceylon tradition seems to be a distorted version of the Brahmanical conception of *dik-pālas*. According to the Brahmanical literature there are *aṣṭa-dikpālas* or eight deities for the eight quarters including N. E., S. E., S. W., and N. W. Confining for our present purpose to the four principal quarters, Kubēra is the lord of the North, Indra

1. Dhṛtarāṣṭra may be identified with Indra. धृतराष्ट्र येन सः । is the term and means he who held the kingdom under this sway. That Indra is the lord of the East is supported by the Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Black Yajur-Veda. प्रची दिक् इन्द्रो देवता.

2. Virūḍha can be identified with the Vedic God Agni, the sacred fire that springs up by the churning of two logs of asvattha wood for sacrificial purposes. The Brāhmaṇa says. अश्वोरपं कृत्वा यदश्वत्थे तिष्ठः. From this it can be inferred that the horse is associated with Agni. According to the Hindu calculation Āgniya is south-east. Therefore the Ceylon tradition may be a confusion between south and south-east.

3. Z. D. M. G. Vol. LXV, pp. 238-9.

the lord of the East, Yama the lord of the South, and Varuṇa the lord of the West.¹ According to the *Mānasāra*, the treatise on Indian Architecture, a human being is the *vāhana* of Kubēra, the elephant for Indra, the buffalo for Yama and the crocodile for Varuṇa.² With regard to other animals occurring on the top of the pillars, Garuḍa is the riding animal of Viṣṇu whose worship is conducive to the destruction of enemies (*śatrunāśa*).³ From Chapters LXII and LXIII of the *Mānasāra* we learn that the bull is the riding animal of Śiva and the lion is the *vāhana* of gods (*devānām vāhanam*). But generally the lion is associated with the goddess Durgā, the consort of Śiva. We do not meet with the horse as the special *vāhana* of any deity, and it would appear that it was the common vehicle of all gods. An examination of the Reports of Archaeology issued by the respective circles shows the erection of such pillars by various kings in different places. We have Garuḍa capital on the Heliodoros pillar of 170 B. C.⁴ down to the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and perhaps later.⁵ In these places the mythical bird Garuḍa is symbolical of the worship of Viṣṇu. Again⁶ we find three elephant pillars of the Hoysala time standing S. E. of the Huniśeśvara temple at *agrahāra* Bachahalli⁷ lion pillars in the *navaraṅga* in the Vidyaśaṅkara Temple at Śṛṅgeri. If we examine the purpose with which these were erected, the aims seem to be different and do not almost agree. It is, therefore, difficult to make these figures on the capitals as connoting particular symbols. For the same animal symbolically represented as one thing in the Buddhist literature and as the other thing in the Brahmanical literature. In fact most of these animals and even more are found mentioned in the *Jātakas* perhaps symbolising the Buddha himself. In the *Jātakas* it is said that the Bodhisattva came to live as a bull⁸ and

1. *śabdakalpadruma*, p. 709.

2. P. K. Ācārya, *Ind. Architecture* p. 83.

3. *Mānasāra* Ch. LXI. p. 82, P. K. Ācārya ed.

4. *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1908-9, pp. 126-9.

5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 164.

6. *See Mysore Arch. Report* for the year 1914-15.

7. *Ibid.* pl. IX. 3. p. 20 and *ibid.* (1916) pl. VII, p. 14.

8. Nos. 28 and 29: Vol. I, pp. 71-4.

was also conceived by an elephant in the Himalayas.¹ The *Jātaka* No. 23 shows the Bodhisattva coming to life as a throughbred Sindh horse² while the *Jātaka* No. 145 shows that he was a maned lion.³ There is again the evidence of the Bodhisattva coming to life as a young Garuḍa.⁴ Not only here but also in the different other *Jātakas* such things are mentioned.

Let us pass in review what the Brahmanical literature has to say of these animals. In the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* there are a number of references to the lion⁵ and in a hymn⁶ it is compared to Rudra and is spoken of as the dread wild beast that slays.⁶ The *hastin* or elephant is also met with in the early *Samhitā*⁷ and is famed for its strength and virility.⁸ The *Vṛṣabha* or the bull occurs in more than one place.⁹ The bull is represented as sacrifice, *Yajña* (R. V. IV. 58. 3). The word *Vṛṣan* literally sprinkling is used with reference to Indra who kills the *Vṛtra* (clouds) and lets flow the waters by Soma sacrifice. We know Indra and Soma are intimately connected with sacrifice. We have again the mention of *Aśva* or horse in a number of places.¹⁰ There are two hymns in praise of the horse god Dadhikrāvan (R. V. IV. 39 & 40). The latter is worshipped for sweetness which is identical with *madhuvidyā* or highest knowledge. Thus the horse is intimately connected with *Jñānam* or knowledge¹¹. It is significant to note that Yājñavalkya received the *yajus* from the Sun god in the shape of a horse.¹² All these animals, at least most of them, have in course of time become the riding animal of various deities as is testified by the *Purāṇa* literature and the *Āgama* texts as well as the *Śilpaśāstra* texts. Even to-day in all the Hindu temples we find the bull or *Nandī* standing against the image of Siva, the lion against the image of Durgā

1. No. 73. *Ibid.* p. 175.

2. *Ibid.* p. 61.

3. *Ibid.* p. 306.

4. No. 360, Vol. III, p. 124.

5. II, 33, 11.

6. Vedic Index Vol. II, p. 448.

7. R. V. I. 64. 7 & IV. 16. 14.

8. Vedic Index Vol. II, p. 501.

9. I. 94, 10 & VI. 46. 4.

10. R. V. I. 83. 1.: See other references quoted in the *Vedic Index*.

11. I am indebted to Dr. Kunhan Raja for this information.

12. See *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Ch. 61. st. 21.

the elephant against the image of Subrahmanya (this is only in some temples) and the Garuḍa against the image of Viṣṇu. Thus we see that long before the epoch of the *Jātakas*, animal symbolism has been worked in detail and realised to the full. This formed a model for the Buddhists who adopted the institutions of the established religion so far as they served their purpose. In fact the Buddhism in the days when the *jātakas* were composed did not materially differ from the earlier form of Hinduism and it is difficult to differentiate the purely Buddhist from the purely Brahmanical. The Buddhist idea was then more or less the Hindu idea, and it is not almost correct to differentiate anything markedly Buddhistic even in the period of Aśoka. Thus the theory of universality of the church falls to the ground.

The second statement of Vincent Smith that Kubera, the king of the *yakṣas*, is worshipped by the Buddhists from Khotan to Ceylon, and hence his *vāhana*, the lion is the favourite symbol may now be examined. Early Buddhism began as a monastic sect, the only difference between it and the prevailing religion being in philosophic doctrines. The monks of this early organisation had no belief in the existence of a personal god and much less in the image worship of other deities and gods. Their ideal was *Nirvāṇa* and the pleasures of heaven found no place in the conception of their life after death. Put shortly, the worship of gods like Kubera which is claimed from Khotan to Ceylon is a later growth in the tree of Buddhist religion. Further the *yakṣas* are a class of the heavenly servants belonging to the category of Gandharvas, Kimpuruṣas and Kinnaras who always waited not only on their lord but on other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. In fact one of the laudatory verses addressed to our principal deities is *yakṣagandharvabhissevite*. Again Kubera is the accredited Treasurer of the heavenly kingdom, and is a guardian deity of the north according to the Hindu notions of universe. If the lion is his riding animal, the lion capital, the favourite of all capitals, has nothing to do with the Buddhists but on the other hand connotes distinct notions of the early form of Hinduism. That the lion is the *vāhana* of Kubera rests on a frail reed of the Ceylonese tradition. But there is evidence to show that the Ceylon kings were using the lion-flag from very early times.¹ It is largely claimed by the Purāṇas as

1. See Rasanāyagam *Ancient Jaffna* p. 43.

the riding animal of Durgā, the consort of Śiva. We have a number of portrait sculptures in many a temple in all India illustrating these. If this is accepted, the *śakti* cult can be traced to several centuries before the Christian era of which these monuments with the crowning sculptured lions are a relic. A simple evidence of the antiquity of this animal symbolism is afforded by the *śāsta* temples located on the main roads between two big villages, where we see huge images of lions, elephants and horses, symbolical of the god Sāstā. Sāstā is a very old deity and it is a pity that such temples are now almost in ruined condition. Sāstā seems to be another form or variant of *śakta* and *śakti*. It would appear that these animals which were largely used in ancient warfare beginning with the wars between the *Devas* and the *Asuras*, gradually became the *vāhana* of one god or other, when arts of peace were developed. Those pre-Aśokan pillars with animal capitals were pillars of victory, planted as memorials by ancient kings of whom we have unfortunately no record, the images of the capital representing the emblem of their ensign, symbolical of the object of their worship. This is more or less the view taken by Ram Prasad Chanda¹. Here it is pointed out that Mauryan Pillars crowned by animal standards were primarily intended for worship. Chanda refers² to the Bharhut rail with an elephant with the driver carved on one side and a horseman with a Garuḍa-standard on the other representing a procession which offers a parallel to the procession of four-standard-bearers in a find of a three-sided prism of faience at Mohenjodaro.³ Among the four standards, two of the ensigns are not distinct and the other two are crowned by a bird and the bull. This serves as a basis to trace pillar cults to the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley. If due consideration is given to this fact as indeed we should the conjectures in regard to the selection of the symbols turn out to be mere conjectures and nothing more.

The other argument is that the choice of the symbol might be influenced "by the origin or nationality of the monks of an adjoining monastery. A column erected near a monastery occupied by southern monks might well be placed under the care

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1. See *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India* No. 34, pp. 31-33.
 2. *Memoirs of Ar. Sur. of India* No. 41, p. 35.
 3. See *An. Report of Ar. Sur. of India* 1925-26 p. 87.

of the guardian of the south." This is again a surmise that has no legs to stand on. This theory is based on the assumption that the four animals were symbolical of the guardian deities of four quarters. When the very premises is questioned, there is no force in building a theory on doubtful issues. Archaeological inference nullifies completely this assumption. The extant pillars discovered and attributed to Aśoka, and the locale which the Chinese travellers assign them tell a different tale altogether. In other words all the pillars in the north do not possess the lion on their tops, in the east the elephant, in the south the horse, and in the west the bull. There is no system or method in the arrangement of these monuments. The fact of the matter is that these pillars and capitals, at best most of them, stood in the age Aśoka uncared for, and on these he got them inscribed. As most of them were not erected by the king himself, surely he could not be responsible for their arrangement at different localities. Thus with the attribution of these monuments to Aśoka being open to question, the Buddhist tradition that he erected these as fitting memorials to perpetuate the fame of some of Buddha's acts is not convincing.

Lastly Smith attaches some mystic importance to the number four. Four are not the symbols assigned to these monuments by the Chinese records. There are seven capitals distinguished, the three additions being the wheel, Garuḍa and man. The idea of four animals has perhaps been suggested by the figures of these animals carved on the Sārnāth Pillar which is itself a veritable museum of sculptures, which are, according to Sir John Marshall, 'masterpieces in point of both style and technique.'¹ Garuḍa, Smith agrees, is the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and he explains this away by saying that to the Ceylon Buddhists Viṣṇu was the protector of the island. Smith even goes to the length of hazard a conjecture that the image of the Garuḍa could have been later on substituted in the place of the original capital. That this is only a fiction of the imagination is proved by the fact of tracing a Garuḍa pillar as early as 170 B. C. of which we have already spoken. It is just possible that such pillars existed before 170 B. C. In a word the cult of Śiva and Viṣṇu was so popularly prevalent that it was difficult for the early Buddhist to rise in

1. *Ar. Sur. of India, An. Report* for 1904-5 p. 36: *Ibid* 1903-9 see note on p. 145.

revolt and cry a halt. Among the monuments described there are still two more images, that of a wheel and of a human being. That the wheel need not be necessarily the *dharma cakra* of the Buddhists is obvious from the association of ideas with which we have been concerned so long. Among the chief emblems of Viṣṇu is the *Cakra* and perhaps the wheel is this *Cakra* considering that Viṣṇu is worshipped and Garuḍa is regarded symbolical of Him.

Again the representation of the figure of a man on one of the monuments suggests that the pillar is more symbolical of Kubera than the lion. For it is a human being who is the *vāhana* of Kubera. Hence Kubera is styled Naravāhana¹. This will also solve once for all the mystery of the figure of a man on the capital.

We can add to these peculiar symbols, the facts of the abacus of the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar 'ornamented with a row of Brāhmāṇī geese pecking their food.' According to the *Mānasāra* (Ch. LX) the goose (*haṁsa*) is the *vāhana* of Brahma. The chapter closes with the statement that "rows of geese should be beautifully carved or painted in the temples of the gods and in the mansions of Brahmans and kings."² As usual we have also the *haṁsa Jātaka*³ where the Bodhisattva is said to have been born as the Buddha. The Bodhisattva is said to have been born as an ascetic, as a Brahman, as a householder, as a merchant, as a smith, as a teacher, as a pupil, as a robber, as a barber, and so forth. Surely it would be foolish to regard every one of these as symbolising the Buddha, and it is indeed difficult to reconcile these different births ascribed to Gotama. Just as Hindu mythology has it that Viṣṇu took ten *avatārs*, in the shape of fish, pig, tortoise etc. with a definite object in view for such incarnation, the Buddhist mythology could attribute these various previous births of the Buddha in different guises. From this it would be rash to conclude that this or that symbolises the Buddha.

Another peculiarity to be noticed in discussing the capital of the column above mentioned is that the capital is in the shape of a bell. The bell capital is generally traced to the Persepolitan

1. Ind. Architecture : P. K. Ācārya P. 83, note.

2. *Ibid.* p. 81.

3. Vol. IV, p. 264 (502).

model. E. B. Havell has valid reasons to suppose that the shape of the capital is not that of a bell but of a lotus, the flower sacred to Viṣṇu.¹ According to A. K. Coomaraswami the lotus capital and the lotus pedestal or seat (*padmapīṭha*, *padmāsana*) represent one and the same form, and that the *padmapīṭha* is found in connection with Śrī Lakṣmī early in the second century B. C. and may well be much older. From an examination of the Vedic sources it is concluded that the symbolical significance of this motif consists of representing the waters which support the earth.² As against these authorities to maintain that the shape of the capital is that of a bell and that it has something to do with the Buddhism is quite an untenable proposition.

In the light of these explanations it is not fair to attribute the *stūpas* and pillars associated with Aśoka to some Buddhist motif and then speak of Aśoka as a Buddhist. The fact that he enlarged to twice the size the *stūpa* of Koṇāgamana whom orthodox Buddhism would style as heretic, and also the act that he got three caves erected in the Barābar Hills for the sect of the Ājīvikas, the rival sect of the Buddhists, are enough to infer that Aśoka had profound sympathy with sects which Buddhism would not ordinarily tolerate.

If again we are to alight at a new interpretation to the animal symbolism as the one we have given above, there is no justification for the theory that the monuments too go to prove Aśoka's faith in Buddhism. On the other hand there is sufficient testimony to the catholicity of religious views adumbrated by the monuments which is the most wonderful and the best relieving feature of the Hindu religion. It is absurd to think of Buddhists worshipping Viṣṇu and Kubera. It is not easy to believe that such ferocious animals like the lion and the elephant symbolise the Buddha himself, the enlightened sage of Kapilavāstu. The *Jātaka* tales mentioning the Bodhisattva coming to life in different forms of animals, birds and human beings perhaps intended, to demonstrate the universality of the Buddha's soul and exhibit him to the world at large as the all-pervading One. Whatever this may be, the monuments of Aśoka cannot carry conviction home to decide the religious leaning of the emperor to Buddhism.

1. *Āryan Rule*, p. 106.

2. See Ind. His. Quar. Vol. VI, No. II the article on the *Origin of the Lotus*, (so-called Bell) Capital pp. 373-375.

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

TOLKAPPIYACCOLLATIKARAKKURIPPU [IN TAMIL]—A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE COLLATIKARAM WITH ALL THE AVAILABLE COMMENTARIES by Dr. P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., Ph. D., Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras. xxx + 26 pages. Price Rs. 3-2-0 or six shillings.

Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri has laid the public under deep obligation to him by his valuable publication, the Tolkāppiyaccollatikāra^{ku}rippu. It is well known, to bear repetition, that the oldest extant Tamil Grammar happens to be the Tolkāppiyam, composed long ago by a great grammarian, who possessed, besides a good knowledge of Tamil, high proficiency in Sanskrit. Several commentators, including ḷampūraṇar, Cēnāvaraiyar, Naccinārkinīar, Teyvaccilaiyār, Kallāṭanar etc. have composed learned commentaries upon the Tolkāppiyam and almost all of these knew Tamil and Sanskrit to an equal degree. It was the combined knowledge of these two languages that enabled these scholars to compose standard commentaries. A perusal of these will clearly show the extent to which they were indebted to their knowledge of Vyākaraṇa, Tarka and Mīmāṃsā. Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri combines in himself a good knowledge of the śāstras with a clear perspective of the technicalities of Tamil Grammar and this has eminently fitted him to confidently undertake a systematic research in the Tolkāppiyam. The author has utilised all the commentaries referred to above, besides availing himself of the information which works like the Prātiśākhyaś of the Ṛg, Taittiriya and Śukla Yajurvedas, the Nirukta of Yāska, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Śikṣā of Pāṇini, the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari and the commentary of Helārāja thereon afford. It is needless to point out that many of the Cāṅgam works have been abundantly used in the course of the work. We agree with Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar that the solution of the problem of Uriccol *i.e.*, that it is the base of a noun or verb, is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Tamil Grammar.

We heartily congratulate the author on this, his able production and request him with Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar as

he remarks in his preface, to continue his researches in the other two chapters of the Tolkāppiyam *i.e.*, the Eḷuttatikāram and the Poruḷatikāram and give us the benefit of his studies.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

REPORTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEARS 1926-27, 1927-28.—by P. Anujan Acchan. Cochin Govt. Press. Price as 12, each.

The two reports under review clearly indicate that the Archaeological Department of the Cochin State has been turning out useful work in spite of the limitations under which it has to carry on its duties. The discovery of the ruins of a city near Tiruvañcikkulam believed to have been the ancient capital of Ceramān Perumāl, the disciple of Sundaramūrti Nāyanar, is indeed very important and if the Government continue the excavations and expose the city, it will form a land-mark in the history of South Indian archaeological finds.

The reports are accompanied by a number of plates illustrating the ancient monuments of Cochin. The inscriptions that were discovered by the department have also been edited, but it would have been better if the estampages of such inscriptions were reproduced along with them.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS
ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
VOL. X PARTS I TO IV.

1. *A Peep into Later Buddhism* : Mr. B. Bhaṭṭacharya deals with the cultural History of India for the whole of the Tāntric period from the 7th century A. D. to the advent of the Muhammadans in India, as based on the "apparently uninteresting and much neglected and much hated literature of Tāntrism."

2. *Slow progress of Islam power in Ancient India* : by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. This forms No. 1 among the Indian Studies wherein an attempt is made to trace the progress of Islam power in India from 712, A.D. when the Arabs first invaded India till 1192, A. D. when the Mahomedans have been recognised to have settled their hold on India.

3. *The use of the cases in Vedic Prose* : Mr. Sukumar Sen.

4. *Studies in Economics in Ancient India* : by Mr. Ambuj Nath Banerji. The author divides the articles into four heads: (1) Divisions of Learning in Ancient India (2) Nature and scope of Vārttā (3) Relation between Vārttā and other sciences (4) Students and teachers of Vārttā in Ancient India.

5. *A few thoughts on Semantics* by Prof. N. H. Purandhare.

6. *Words in Rg Veda* : by Principal Rajvade (continued). The Vedic words *amati*, *yahu*, *yahva*, *yahvi*, *yahvīḥ* and *yahvatīḥ* are dealt with in this number.

7. *Ekādaśādyādhikaraṇa of Murāri Miśra* : by Mr. Umesha Misra. This pamphlet is edited from a Ms. preserved in the Nepal Durbar.

VOL. XI, Pt. I.

1. *A fragmentary inscription of Maṇḍu* : by Mr. K. K. Lele. This is a hymn composed by the great poet Bilhana who was patronised by Vindhyavarmadeva and Subhaṭavarmadeva (12th Century A. D.).

2. *Jātinirākṛti of Jitāri* : by Mr. Giuseppe Tucci. This a short polemical treatise refuting the theories of the Naiyāyikas, Jainaś and Mīmāṃsaks.

3. *The age of Pāṇini and Sanskrit as a spoken Language* : Prof. K. A. Pāṭhak adduces arguments in favour of the theory that Sanskrit was a spoken language during the age of Pāṇini (7th century B. C.).

4. *Were the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa known to Pāṇini* : by Prof. K. B. Pāṭhak. In disagreement with the opinion of Goldstucker the writer concludes that "the Śukla Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇa were considered Vedic works in the days of Pāṇini."

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

February 1930.

Nāsūm Inscription of Īśānabhaṭa of Samvat 887. Only a fragment of the inscription is published. It records the installation of an image of Śiva by one Gamuṇḍasvamin, the preceptor of the chieftain Īśānabhaṭa, son of Dhanika, who is contemporaneous with the Guhila chief of Dhavagarta of Dabok inscription dated 207 Harṣa Samvat = 813 A. E.

Bengal's contribution to Philosophical literature in Sanskrit : Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, deals with the Bengali authors of Vaiṣṇava and philosophical works.

Periods in Indian History : Mr. F. G. Richards inaugurates a different scheme in naming the historical periods of India.

Origin of Caste system in India : by Mr. S. C. Hill. The article is to be continued.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 1930.

Discussion of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness and subjective idealism in Nyāyasūtras :

"Kṣaṇikavāda" and "Vijñānavāda" have not been presupposed, as they are believed to be, by the Nyāya sūtras.

Le nom de l'écriture Kharoṣṭi : by Mr. Jean Przyluski. The writer gives a different derivation to the word Kharoṣṭi.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. Vol. I. No. 1. March 1930.

Reign of realism in Indian Philosophy : by Mr. R. Nagaraja Sarma. The importance and place of the philosophy of Madhva among the different schools of philosophy is clearly pointed out.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY. January 1930.

The theories of validity in Indian Philosophy : by Mr. S. B. Maitra states the theories of validity and invalidity as conceived by the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Bauddha schools of Philosophy.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

December 1929.

Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire : by Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda : The writer bases this article mainly on the Hāthigumpha inscription. This instalment is the second in the series.

Machinery of administration as depicted in Kauṭilya : by Dr. N. N. Law. This is the second instalment in the series of articles; this deals with the officers in the royal household and the department and espionage.

Subandhu or Bāṇabhaṭṭa—Who is earlier? by Prof. Sivaprasad Bhaṭṭāchārya.

On some Tādtuk texts in Ancient Kambiya : by Dr. Bagchi. Works like Jayadrathayamala; Brahma Yamala; Niśvasatattva Samhita, Sammohatantia, Sangītalola are considered.

Commentary on Śārādātānaya's Bhāvaṇṇaprakāśa : by Mr. V. Venkatarama Sarma : A fragment is published.
March 1930.

Machinery of administration in Kauṭilya : by Dr. N. N. Law. This is a continuation from the previous number.

Problems of Nāṭya Śāstra : by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh. Whether Bharata or Ādibharata is the basis for the Nāṭya Śāstra is discussed, the Nāṭya Sūtra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is untrustworthy; the disappearance of the Nāṭyasūtras of Kṛṣṇaśva and Silalin the father of the Nāṭyasūtra is due to Socio-political influences after Pāṇini.

Antiquity of Tāntrism : by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti. A succinct history of Tantrism as found in various passages of literature is made out.

Bharatavākya : by Mr. Vibhutinatha Jha. Bharatavākya are written by the actors and not by the authors.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS 287

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
1929

Sarvānanda and Vallabhadeva : by Mr. S. K. De. A defence of the date of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, as advanced by the doctor himself.

La loi de Symetre dans la Chāndogya Upaniṣad : by Mr. P. J. Przyluski.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

September—December 1929.

A new Śilpa work : by Mr. P. N. Bose.

A note on (*buddha*) pratimālakṣaṇam of the 13th century A. D.

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF BENGAL.

The Chauhanas : by Mr. R. R. Haldar.

A chronological sketch of Chauhanas (Chahamānas) of Sāmbhar, Ājmer and Ranthanbhor.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

July and October 1929.

Sātavāhanas—were they Āndhras : by Pandit V. Prabhākara Śastri. The Pandit opines that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras and adduces evidences in favour of his theory.

The Evolution of Brahmanical Hierarchy : by Mr. Bhīma Sankara Rao.—This is a continuation of the article which appeared in Vol. III of the above journal. This instalment deals with the fall of the Brahminical hierarchy and the growth of Buddhism.

Judicial system in Ancient India : by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu. This part deals with the Trial by Ordeal.

MORNING STAR.

March 1930.

The Vrātya and the Yati : (to be continued) by Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Chanda : After elucidating the origin of the Dhyānayoga, he concludes that Yoga as a system of exercise for giving magical powers originated mainly among the Non-Brahmin or Pre-Aryan population in Ancient India.

Parallel passages in the Gītā and the Bible : by Dr. Susil Sarkar.

TNE EPIGRAPHICA INDICA.

October 1929.

The Garāvapāḍu grant of Gaṇapatideva : Saka 1282, by C. R. Krishnamacharlu : It is to be noted that this grant gives out the geneology of the Kākatīyas.

The Junagādh inscription of Jīvadāman I. : by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The inscription under consideration pertains to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Jīvadāman I. who reigned somewhere between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A. D.

ĀENTAMIL.

November—December 1929.

Cēravamicāvali : by Pt. M. Raghava Iyengar. A geneological table of the Cēra Kings accordings to the *Marumakkattāyam* and the *Makkattāyam*.

ĀENTAMILCELVI.

Patrons of Tamil Literature : by Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai. The author gives a list of 16 Kings who were great patrons of learning, including Nālaikkilavaṇ-nākaṇ, Tiru-k-killi, Ātaṇ, Veḷimāṇ and others.

Some obsolete Tamil words : by Mr. M. V. Nalliappa Pillai. In this instalment the word *Kantalī* is considered.

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OF
THE DHVANYĀLOKA
OF
ANANDAVARDHANA
WITH
THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA
AND
THE KAUMUDĪ OF UTTUNGODAYA

EDITED BY

Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S.
*Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras,
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विदू—^१भो किं पुन कादव्वम् ?

राजा—सखे, विष्णुत्रात ! अहमेनं गृहीत्वा सायं सप्तपर्णवेदिकाद्वारे वासार्थमाग-
मिष्यामि । त्वं तु पुनः—

क्षीणव्याधितवृद्धनिन्दितगजान् दन्ताधिकान् धेनुकान्
बालान् गर्भवतीर्विलक्षणतमाञ्छेतादिवर्णाधिकान् ।
प्राप्तैश्वर्यसुखांश्च वारणवरांस्यक्त्वा प्रशस्तान् गजान्
बद्धाय ब्रज साधनैः परिवृतस्तत्रैव वस्तुं सखे ॥

विष्णु—यदाज्ञापयति देवः ।

चारः—^२भट्ट ! काळादिक्रमेण अळिअवादी विअ भट्टिणो समीवे भविस्सम् ।

राजा—भद्र ! बहुशो दृष्टप्रत्ययं ननु ते वचः !

चारः—^३अदो एव्व मए भणीयदि ।

राजा—सुन्दरपाटलस्तावत् ।

अश्वबन्धकः—(प्रविश्य) ^४भट्ट ! एसो सुन्दरपाटलो ।

राजा—आनय(इत्यश्वमारुह्य) विष्णुत्रात ! गच्छ त्वम् । कात्यायनामिश्रानप्रतः कुरु ।

विष्णु—यदाज्ञापयति देवः । कष्टं भोः !

चृपाः प्रभुत्वात्प्रतिषेधवामा

जिह्वो विधिस्तद्वशवर्ति कार्यम् ।

साचिव्यतो नापरमस्ति पुंसां

विषाददुःखायशसां निदानम् ॥ (निष्क्रान्तः)

१. भोः ! किं पुनः कर्तव्यम् ?

२. भर्तः ! कालातिक्रमेण अलीकवादीव भर्तुः समीपे भविष्यामि ।

३. अतः खलु मया भण्यते ।

४. भर्तः ! एष सुन्दरपाटलः ।

चारः—^१“जइ वच्छराओ ससाहणो आअच्छदि तदा तुवं पळाइअ आअच्छु” इति
अय्य साळंकायणेण उक्तम् । एसो दाणिं बलम् उज्झिअ णिग्गदो ;
सव्वदा सिद्धं कज्जम् ।

राजा—घोषवती तावत् ।

औपागायकः—(प्रविश्य घोषवतीहस्तः)^२जेदु भट्टा ! एसो ह्मि ।

राजा—त्वं मदनुपदमागच्छ ।

औपगा—^३भट्ट ! तह ।

विदू—^४भो ! एसो कच्चायणो विंसदिमत्तेण बळेण परिवुदो अग्गदो गदो ।
अहं दाणिं तुए एव्व सह गमिस्सम् ।

राजा—त्रयस्य ! शीघ्रमस्माभिर्गन्तव्यम् । अतस्त्वं विष्णुत्रातेन सह गच्छ ।

विदू—^५भो ! तुए एव्व अहं आअच्छामि ।

राजा—त्रयस्य ! तिष्ठ त्वम् । मम खलु प्राणैः शापितः ।

विदू—^६एसो ह्मि । गच्छ तुवं विअआअ ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

चारः—^७भट्ट ! ण दाणिं चिराइदव्वम् ।

राजा—भद्र ! त्वमग्रतो भूत्वा मार्गमादेशय ।

चारः—^८तह । इदो इदो ।

१. “यदि वत्सराजः ससाधन आगच्छति तदा त्वं पलाय्य आगच्छ” इति आर्यशालङ्कायनेन उक्तम् । एष इदानीं बलमुज्झित्वा निर्गतः ; सर्वदा सिद्धं कार्यम् ।
२. जयतु भर्ता ! एषोऽस्मि ।
३. भर्तः ! तथा ।
४. भो ! एष कात्यायनो विंशतिमात्रेण बलेन परिवृतो अग्रतो गतः । अहमिदानीं त्वयैव सह गमिष्यामि ।
५. भो ! त्वयैवाहमागच्छामि ।
६. एषोऽस्मि । गच्छ त्वं विजयाय ।
७. भर्तः ! नेदानीं चिरायितव्यम् ।
८. तथा । इत इतः ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—अहो सुन्दरपाटलस्य जवविशेषः । इह हि—

तरुगहनमिदं नदीप्रवाहे पतितमिवोभयपार्श्वयोर्विरूढम् ।

अभिमुखमभिधावतीव वेगात्प्रमुखगतं समवेक्ष्य दूरतो माम् ॥

चारः—^१पविसह जमुणाकच्छं । अज ! दिष्टिया चउ(त्य)व्माअवशिष्टे दिअसे
संपत्तह (परिक्रम्य) भट्ट ! एसो खु सो वारणो अदिमुत्तअसाल-
च्छाआए ठिदो ।

राजा—सखे ! अयमत्र । एष हि—

समसितनखरान्तः कार्मुकाकारवंशः

सुहनुकटललाटो दीर्घपुच्छो दृढांसः ।

पृथुतरमुखकर्णो व्यायतावृत्तहस्तो

जलभरगुरुमेघश्यामपूर्वोच्छ्रिताङ्गः ॥

चारः—^२(आत्मगतं) दाणिं फुंलामि विअ । (प्रकाशम्) मुहुत्तअं तिन्दुअच्छाआए
विस्समिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—(अश्वादवरुह्य) भृङ्गारकस्तावत् ।

चेटः—(प्रविश्य भृङ्गारकहस्तः) ^३जेदु भट्टा ! एसो आणीदो ।

राजा—(आचम्य) औपगायक ! घोषवतीमानय ।

औपगा—^४भट्ट ! एसा घोसवदी ।

राजा—(प्रगृह्य वीणां मूर्च्छयति)

१. प्रविशामो यमुनाकच्छम् । आर्य ! दिष्टिया चतुर्थभागावशिष्टे दिवसे
सम्प्राप्ताः स्मः । भर्तः ! एष खलु स वारणः अतिमुक्तकसालच्छायायां
स्थितः ।

२. इदानीं फुलामीव । मुहुर्ते तिन्दुकच्छायायां विश्रमिष्ये ।

३. जयतु भर्ता ! एष आनीतः ।

४. भर्तः ! एषा घोषवती ।

चेष्टः—^१अहं दाणिं तर्हि एव उवविसिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—(आत्मगतम्) किं नु खलु क्षीणो मे बाहुः ? वेपते मे सव्यं चक्षुः ।

औपगा—^२हृद्वि ! पडिपुय्यं (पडिमुहं ?) कण्णअरुत्ते (रुन्तुअं ?) वाअसो कूजइ ।

बहुचोराणं आवासं खु इदं वणगहनम् ; किं णु हु भवे !

(ततः प्रविशति चोरसेनापतिः खड्गहस्तश्चेष्टश्च)

चोरः—अहो नु खलु राज्ञां प्रभावो नाम ! वत्सराजो वनमिदं प्रविष्टवानिति श्रुतमात्रेणैव भिन्नो नः सङ्घातः ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

राजा—(वीणां वादयन् गायति)

निरुपमबलवीर्यशौर्यतेजः कुवलयनीलतनो मनोज्ञवंश ।

शृणु वचनमनेकप्रबर्हं व्रज वशतां मम भद्र भद्रमस्तु ॥

(नेपथ्ये भेरीपटहशङ्खाकुष्ठः शब्दः क्रियते)

राजा—हन्त ! वञ्चिताः स्मः नीलकुवलयतनुरप्रतिनिधिरयं हस्तीति । केनाप्यसौ मदाकर्षणार्थं नियुक्तः प्रणिधिः ।

औपगा—^३सव्वदो परिउदह्व । साउहेहिं मणुस्सेहिं ।

राजा—(औपगायकाय वीणां दत्वा, अश्वमारुह्य) असौ खलु प्रदेशस्तुर्गसञ्च-
रणायोग्य इव दृश्यते । तदागम्यताम् ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—भोः !

तिष्ठ प्राग्जयधन्व नागरक हे कात्यायनोपेहि मां

पृष्ठं युन्द भजस्व सव्यमरिमन्नुक्षापसव्यं मम ।

१. अहमिदानीं तत्रैवोपविशामि ।

२. हा धिक् ! पडिपुय्यं (प्रतिमुखं) कर्णारुन्तुदं वायसः कूजति । बहुचोराणा-
मावासः खलु इदं वनगहनम् । किन्तु खलु भवेत् !

३. सर्वतः परिवृताः स्मः सायुधैर्मनुष्यैः ।

मा गा हंसक दूरमुग्र भव मत्पार्श्वेऽलतिष्ठाग्निजि-

द्धेहि व्याघ्र हयः (यं?) शिवेन सहिताः शेषा भवन्त्वग्रतः ॥

अश्व—^१साधु जहाणत्तं सव्वे ठिदा ।

(प्रविश्य)

शालङ्कायनः—देव ! मा साहसं कार्षीः । परीतोऽसि महता हयगजकलि-
लेन प्रघोतवलेन ।

राजा—आः! तस्यैव दुरात्मनः प्रयोगः खल्वसौ ।

भवतु पुनरितः प्रभृत्यहं तत्कुलमिह हन्मि समस्तमाकुमारम् ।

वनमिव सुसमृद्धमातृणेभ्यस्तरुपरिघट्टनजो हिरण्यरेताः ॥

शाल—कुशलिनमक्षतं त्वां द्रष्टुमिच्छति महासेनः ।

राजा—(आत्मगतम्) यथाक्रममारब्धाः क्रिया विद्वद्भिरनपहास्याः सफलाश्च
भवन्ति । अतः सामादिनयैरिमापदमुत्तरेयम् । (प्रकाशम्) कस्त्वम् ?
किं ते गोत्रम् ?

शाल—देव ! सूर्यदत्तो नाम्ना शालङ्कायनो गोत्रेण ।

राजा—सुप्रभातमद्य यच्चिरामिलषितो भवतो दर्शनोत्सवः समासादितः । एष
खल्वर्थानुबन्धोऽर्थो नाम । साधु, इहागम्यताम् ।

शाल—अग्नय इव नात्यासन्नेन नातिदूरस्थितवता ननु सुखसेव्या राजानः ।

औपगा—^२पदीआळीव (पदिआईव्व ?) धुत्तो बहणो ।

राजा—आगच्छेदानीं गच्छामः । कुरुष्व तावत्त्वद्भूक्षेपानुवर्तिनीं वत्सेश्वरलक्ष्मीम् ।

कुतः—

विन्यस्य सम्यङ्निजराज्यभारं प्रज्ञाश्रुतिश्रीमति सूर्यदत्ते ।

स्वस्याम्यहं स्वस्थमनाः कदेति या प्रार्थना साद्य मम प्रसिद्धा ॥

शाल—प्रतिगृहीतो देवस्य प्रसादः । किन्तु स्वामिनो यथोद्दिष्टकारिता ननु
परत्रेह च हितसुखयोर्निदानम् ।

१. साधु, यथाज्ञतं सर्वे स्थिताः ।

२. प्रतिवादीव धूर्तो ब्राह्मणः ।

राजा—भो सूर्यदत्त ! तत्रभवान् भरतरोहकस्त्वद्गुणविभूतिमसहमानश्चण्डाल
इव वराहकलहे द्वयोरेकतरवधेनात्मनो वृत्तिमपेक्षमाणस्त्वां नित्यं
जिघांसुरीदृशेष्व्वासन्नापायेषु नियुनक्ति, लकुटस्थानीयस्त्वं तस्य संवृत्तः ।

शाल—महासेनस्याहं मृत्यो न भरतरोहकस्य ।

राजा—आर्य ! प्रद्योतं स्यातिकूरस्य समीपचारिणो व्याघ्रसमीपचारिणो मृगस्येव
नियतस्तव प्रत्यवायः । ततस्तत्र स्थानं न श्रेयस्करं भवतः । अपि च,
परीक्ष्यतां तावद्भवता ।

जालेन वह्निवदवार्यतरस्त्वयाहं

प्रद्योतनो (तो) ध्रुवमतस्तव मृत्युरेव ।

पौरोग्रहस्तिपकनापितसूदमुख्यान्

योऽहन् कृतागसमसौ न हिनस्ति किं त्वाम् ॥

शाल—(कर्णौ पिधाय) शान्तं शान्तं पापम् । नाहं भर्तुरपवादं श्रोतुं समर्थः ।
अस्थाने पुनर्देवेन वाग्व्ययः क्रियते । कुतः—

अभेद्यया स्वाम्यनुरागरक्षया सदा कृतस्वस्त्ययनं मनो मम ।

अतः परेषां परुषाक्षरायुधैर्न भिद्यते भेदवचोमहाग्रहैः ॥

अपि च

प्रद्योतं भज मुक्त्वास्त्रं श्रेयः स्यात्ते महत्ततः ।

देशकालौ हि विद्येते क्षमायास्तेजसोऽपि च ॥

राजा—हा धिक् !

कः क्षत्रियः सहजमानमयामृतस्य

श्रीमद्यशःसमुपदंशवतो रसज्ञः ।

शस्त्रं विहाय वशतां द्विषतामुपेया-

द्यायामकर्कशदृढायतपीनबाहुः ॥

अश्व—१ भट्ट ! आरूढो एसो हत्थिणं । सज्जो होहि ।

१. भर्तः ! आरूढ एष हस्तिनम् । सज्जो भव ।

औप—^१हृत्थिवको सखगभीषणं उत्तिविआमाणसजिरीरणिरं पपुच्छसीहणादं (?)
वणगच्छदोणिगदं सत्तुबलं परिकिखदं च अह्माणं जोहेहि ।

राजा—भवतु भवतु ।

अहमरिपृतनानामद्य साश्वद्विपानां

धरणितलमसृग्भिस्तर्पयिष्यामि कोष्णैः ।

वृकशुनकशृगालान् काककङ्कांश्च मांसै-

र्दयिततरयुगान्तं प्राणदानैः कृतान्तम् ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः सार्धमौपगायकाश्वबन्धकाभ्याम्)

शाल—अहो, क्षात्रं तेजः ! अहमप्यात्मनो बलस्यो(पान्ते)भविष्यामि ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

चेटः—^२अय्य ! भीददाए सुट्टु अहं वाउळो को एसो देसो ?

चोरः—अरे ! नन्वयं यमुनाकच्छः ।

चेटः—^३अय्य ! इदाणिं खु मए अभिण्णादम् ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

चोरः—(आकर्ण्य) अये ! अरण्ये महदाक्रुष्टम् । श्रुतं मया ह्यद्य शालंकायनः
प्रविष्टवानिति । न खलु किञ्चिद्वत्सराजस्तेन छलितः स्यात् ।

चेटः—(परिक्रम्य अवलोक्य सभयम्)^४ अय्य ! इदो इदो विलोहेहि । केसाकेसी
संपहारो संवृत्तो ।

चोरः—हन्त ! तदेवात्र संवृत्तम् । वात्सिका अज्वन्तिकाश्च खल्वमी योधाः ।

एते हि—

समुन्नदन्तो धृतचापशूलप्रासासिशक्तिकुशुरिकागदाद्यैः ।

परस्परं घ्नन्ति रुषा प्रवीरा द्विधा विभक्ता इव मृत्युदंष्ट्राः ॥

१. हस्तिपकः सखङ्गभीषणं (?)
सिंहनादं वनकच्छदो निर्गतं शत्रुबलं परीक्षितं च अस्माकं योधैः ।
२. आर्य ! भीततया सुष्टु अहं व्याकुलः । क एष प्रदेशः ?
३. आर्य ! इदानीं खलु मया अभिज्ञातम् ।
४. आर्य ! इतं इतो विलोक्य । केशाकेशि संप्रहारः संवृत्तः ।

चेटः—^१ अय्य ! एदस्स सल्लरुक्खस्स समीवे चिट्ठिअ सुहं णं पेक्खिस्सामो ।

चोरः—अरे ! सम्यगुपलक्षितं भवता । (उभौ परिक्रम्य तिष्ठतः)

चेटः—^२ अय्य ! को णु खु एसो पदुमवणं विअ जोहाणं मुहवणं छिंदंतो तुरअ-
चक्कं विअ जुद्धमंझे परिभममदि ?

चोरः—अये ! नन्वेष वत्सराजः अयं हि—

हुतहुतवहतेजाः कुञ्चितभ्रूपताकः

प्रचुररुधिरलिप्तः प्रोद्यतप्रांशुखड्गः ।

विचरति गतशङ्कः शत्रुसंधान् विनिघ्नन्

तुरगगतिविशेषात् सर्वतो दृश्यमानः ॥

चेटः—^३ अय्य ! एसो खु सबरराओ “अरे कच्चाअणा ! पुत्तं मे साणुगं एसिअ कहिं
गच्छसि” ति भणिअ भट्ठिणो समीवं एव्व धावइ ।

चोरः—अरे ! पश्य पश्य ।

परिघूर्ण्य भुजेन रोषदीप्तो

नृपतिः काञ्चनतालसन्निभेन ।

अवधीदुरसि प्रदीप्तशक्या

द्विषमेषो न्यपतत्क्षितौ गतासुः ॥

चेटः—^४ अय्य ! मज्झिदा विअ भूमी भट्ठिणा णिहदेहिं सबरबल्लेहिं दुद्धिणं विअ
वणगहनम् ।

चोरः—सम्यगाह भवान् ।

यथा यथा हरिरिव माहिषं गणं

नराधिपः समभिनिहन्ति निर्दयम् ।

१. आर्य ! एतस्य सालवृक्षस्य समीपे स्थित्वा सुखं ननु प्रेक्षिष्यावहे ।

२. आर्य ! को नु खल्वेषः पद्मवनामिव योधानां मुखवनं छिन्दन् तुरगचक्रमिव
युद्धमध्ये परिभ्रमति ?

३. आर्य ! एष खलु शबरराजः “अरे कात्यायन ! पुत्रं मे साणुगम् एष्यति,
कुत्र गच्छसि” इति भणित्वा भर्तुः समीपमेव धावति ।

४. आर्य ! मज्झिता इव भूमिः भर्त्रा निहतैः शबरबलैः दुर्दिनमिव वनगहनम् ।

तथा तथा शबरबलं समन्ततो
निशामुखे तिमिरमिवाभिवर्धते ॥

चेटः—^१ ह द्वि ! हदा सव्वे भट्टिणो जोहा ।

चोरः—अरे ! गता स्वामिपिण्डानृण्यमिति ब्रूहि ।

चेटः—^२ कोसुम्भरणकञ्चुओ हिउडिभग्गभीसणो तद्वणअणो आअण्ण-
पुण्णचाओ को एसो ?

चोरः—अयं ननु शालङ्कायनः । एष खलु राजानं सस्मितं बाणैरलंकुर्वाणः—
शरेण तीक्ष्णायसतेजनेन

पादोरुदेशे न्यवधीनरेन्द्रम् ।

चेटः—^३ ह द्वि !

चोरः—प्रासेन राज्ञा निहतोऽसमूले

व्यपेतसंज्ञो न्यपतद्भरायाम् ॥

चेटः—^४ अविहा ! एदेण अजं णळगिरिपडिमेण हत्थिणा सरमअं विअ
भट्टारं करअन्तो अहिपददि हत्थिजोहो ।

चोरः—अहो, बलौदार्यं राज्ञः !

उद्वीक्ष्यैनं रौद्रमभ्यापतन्तं

राजा प्रासं क्षितवानुग्रतेजाः ।

मिनात्मासौ विग्रहे तेन नागः

त्रासाद्रौति प्रावृषीवाभ्रराशिः ॥

चेटः—^५ ह द्वि ! गआरोहएण हिअअण्णदेसे तोमरेण हदो भट्टिणो तुरओ ।

१. हा धिक् ! हताः सर्वे भर्तुर्योधाः ।

२. कौसुम्भरणकञ्चुकः भुकुटीभङ्गभीषणः तप्तनयनः आकर्णपूर्णचापः
क एषः ?

३. हा धिक् ।

४. अपिहा ! एतेन अयं नलगिरिप्रतिमेन हस्तिना शरमयामिव भर्तारं कुर्वन्
अभिपतति हस्तियोधः ।

५. हा धिक् ! गजारोहकेन हृदयप्रदेशे तोमरेण हतो भर्तुस्तुरगः ।

चोरः—अरे ! पश्य पश्य । एष खलु राजा त्वरिततरं मञ्चादवरुह्य हरिणप्लुतके-
नोत्प्लुत्य कैशिकामार्गेण प्रहारेण—

निकृत्तवान् द्विरदपतेर्महाभुजं
महासिना सदशनमश्मककशम् ।

पतन्नसौ व्यपगतजीवितोऽवधीत्
स्वशस्त्रिणः स्वयमचलाभविग्रहः ॥

चेटः—^१ अय्य ! अत्थगदो भअवो सुय्यो । धूमाअदि खु सव्वं वणगहणम् ।

चोरः—सम्यगुक्तं शेखरकेण ।

न्यस्यैव गङ्गामवतीर्य सन्ध्यां
रणाजिरेऽस्मिन् क्षतजाभिताम्रे ।

परं स्वतेजश्च नरेन्द्रसिंहे
निमग्नवानम्बुनिधौ विवस्वान् ॥

चेटः—^२ अय्य ! भट्ठिणो भीददाए तहिं तहिं रुक्खाबुदसरीरा ठिदा
संभु (सवर ?) वीरा ।

चोरः—एष खलु राजा—

कृत्वा सुखेन गणनीयमरातिसैन्यं
भूमिं कलेवरशतैरतिदुर्गमां च ।

युद्धाङ्गणे चरति भूमिपतिः श्रमार्तः
गाढप्रहारपरिविह्वलयेव गत्या ॥

चेटः—^३ ह द्वि ! पडिदो भट्टा ।

चोरः—इदानीमस्तमितः सूर्यः ।

चेटः—^४ अय्य ! एसो खु भट्टा उज्झिदसज्जोपसुट्ठो विअ सीहो भीदभीदं
उवअदेहि अमित्तेहि बद्धो ।

१. आर्य ! अस्तंगतो भगवान् सूर्यः । धूमायते खलु सर्वे वनगहनम् ।

२. आर्य ! भर्तुः भीततया तत्र तत्र वृक्षावृतशरीराः स्थिताः शबरवीराः ।

३. हा धिक् ! पतितो भर्ता ।

४. आर्य ! एष खलु भर्ता उज्झितसत्त्वोपसृष्ट (?) इव सिंहो भीतभीतमुपगतैः
अभिघ्नैः बद्धः ।

चोरः—कष्टं कष्टम् !

भूमिः कराग्रेण विवर्तिताद्य

श्वासेन भग्नो हिमवान् महाद्रिः ।

आसारवृष्ट्या शमितोऽग्निरौर्वो

विनिर्हृतः कीटशतैरनन्तः ॥

चेटः—¹ अय्य ! एहि, इह ण ठादव्वं अल्लेहि ।

चोरः—तथास्तु (परिक्रम्य) अहो खलु नु विधेर्दुरतिक्रमता ! एष हि—

अतुलबलपराक्रमप्रभावः

प्रथितयशाः समरव्रणार्द्रिगात्रः ।

नरपतिररिभिर्निबध्य नीतो

बलिरिव भोगिपभोगपाशबद्धः ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

॥ द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ॥

¹ आर्य ! एहि, इह न स्थातव्यमस्माभिः ।

॥ तृतीयोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति सचिन्तो यौगन्धरायणः)

यौग—(विष्णोर्नामानि पठन्)

विष्णुस्त्रिधामा भगवानुपेन्द्रो

नारायणश्चक्रधरो मुरारिः ।

दामोदरः शौरिरनन्तमूर्तिः

कृष्णोऽच्युतः कंसरिपुर्मुकुन्दः ॥

(परिक्रम्य) परेद्युः प्रभृत्यहं दुःस्वप्नं पश्यामि । नागवनं च प्रविष्टवान्
स्वामी । किं नु खलु भवेत् ! (निश्चस्य) अहो नु खलु स्नेहबलदुर्वलस्य
मनसो नित्यातुरता ! कुतः—

तस्यापरैरपरिधृष्यबलप्रभाव-

श्रीवीर्यशौर्यश्रुतितामभिजानतोऽपि ।

तत्तद्विकल्प्य हृदयं परिवेपते मे

प्रेम्णा सहैव सततं भ्रमतीव दुःखम् ॥

(परिक्रम्य तिष्ठति)

प्रतीहारी—(प्रविश्य) ¹कहिं णु हु अय्यजोअंधराअणो । (विलोक्य) एसो
चन्दणमण्डपे ठिदो । जाव उवसप्पामि । (उपेत्य) जेदु अय्यो ।
अय्य ! उज्जयिणीदो को वि पत्तहत्थो आअदो ।

यौग—भवति ! प्रवेशयैनम् ।

प्रती—²जं अय्यो आणवेदि (निष्क्रम्य चारेण सह प्रविश्य) एसो अय्यो,
उवसप्पदु । (निष्क्रान्ता)

1. कुत्र नु खलु आर्ययौगन्धरायणः? एष चन्दनमण्डपे स्थितः। यावदुपसर्पामि।
जयत्वार्यः । आर्य ! उज्जयिनीतः कोऽपि पत्रहस्त आगतः ।
2. यदार्य आज्ञापयति । एष आर्यः, उपसर्पतु ।

चारः—(उपसृत्य) ^१जेदु अय्यो ।

यौग—स्वागतम् । भद्र ! का वार्ता तत्र ?

चारः—^२एसो खु संकिंचाअणीए (सालंकाअणीओ ?) लेहो ।

यौग—आनय (गृहीत्वानुवाच्य) भद्र ! कदा शालङ्कायनः सनीलगजो निर्गतः ?

चारः—^३अज्ज दसमो दिअसो ।

यौग—किमर्थं पुनस्त्वया विलम्बितम् ?

चारः—^४सव्वे कोसंबीमग्गा बंधाविदा । तेण अहं विलंबितं आअदो ।

यौग—(आत्मगतम्) अनाथाः कृता वयं प्रद्योतेन, अथवा स्वामी ।

अतीव दीर्घायुरतीवशूरः

शस्त्रैरवध्यो मतिमान् कृतास्त्रः ।

श्रियः परं धाम च सार्वभौमः

स्वस्थं विजित्यैष्यति शत्रुसङ्घान् ॥

(प्रकाशम्) भद्र ! विश्रम्यताम् ।

चारः—^५जं अय्यो आणवेदि (निष्क्रान्तः)

यौग—अतिक्रान्त इव कालः । किं नु खलु कर्तव्यमिदानीम् ? अथवा

ससंशयत्वाद्वातव्य एव लेखः । स्वस्तिके !

प्रतीहारी—(प्रविश्य) ^६अय्य ! इअं ह्मि ।

यौग—शीघ्रं लेखावासात् लेखनीयं पत्रं चानय ।

प्रती—^७जं अय्यो आणवेदि । (निष्क्रान्ता)

१. जयत्वार्यः ।

२. एष खलु शालङ्कायनीयो लेखः ।

३. अद्य दशमो दिवसः ।

४. सर्वः कौशाम्बीमार्गः बन्धितः । तेनाहं विलम्बितमागतः ।

५. यदार्य आज्ञापयति ।

६. आर्य ! इयमस्मि ।

७. यदार्य आज्ञापयति ।

यौग—(निश्चस्य)

अपि नाम भवेन्नृपस्यशान्ति-

निर्गतस्य ग्रहणे वनद्विपानाम् ।

अपि नाम न लक्षतां च यामः

स्फुटाधिवाद्दशरस्य पण्डितानाम् ॥

प्रतीहारी —(प्रविश्य)^१आणीदं मए जहाणत्तं सव्वम् ।

यौग—भद्रे ! आनय ।

प्रती—^२अय्य ! इदं । (दत्त्वा निष्क्रान्ता)

यौग—किं नु खलु हस्तान्मे लेखनी पतिता (विचार्य) भवत्वहमेव तत्र यास्यामि ।

प्रतीहारी —(प्रविश्य)^३ जेदु अय्यो । उपाअमस (उपासअमट्?) समीवादो किलबन्धओ एअदो ।

यौग —(आत्मगतम्) बन्धक इति । एतदप्यनिमित्तमेव । (प्रकाशं) अहमेवैनं प्रत्युद्गमिष्यामि ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

यौग—(निश्चस्यात्मगतम्) निराशमिव मे मनः स्वामिनं प्रति । अथवा अनियतं हि निमित्तं नाम ।

प्रती—^४अय्य ! एसो खु सो । (निष्क्रान्ता)

यौग—(विलोक्य) अये ! दृष्टपूर्वं इव ।

(प्रविश्य पाशुपतवेषो हंसकः)

^५जेदु भवम् ।

यौग—अये ! हंसको दिष्टया वेषान्तरेणायमागतः ।

१. आनीतं मया यदाज्ञप्तं सर्वम् ।

२. आर्य ! इदम् ।

३. जयत्वार्यः । उपासकमठ(?)समीपात् किल बन्धक आगतः ।

४. आर्य ! एष खलु सः ।

५. जयतु भवान् ।

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THE OLDEST ACCOUNT OF THE TAMIL ACADEMIES

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.,

Advocate, Madras.

(Continued from page 201 of Vol. IV., J. O. R. M.)

II

When was the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* written and in praise of whom and when was it incorporated in the commentary on *Iraiyaṇār's* grammar? To answer these questions is really to determine the date of the commentary.

From the 329 stanzas we have of the *Kōvai*, we can make out a long list of names, or appellations, of the hero—or the heroes—of the stanzas, and an equally long list of the victories won by him—or them. The principal among the names would seem to be *Neḍu-Māraṇ*, *Parāṅguśaṇ* and *Ari-kēśari*, and the more noted of the victories would seem to be those won at *Nelvēli*, *Śaṅgara-maṅgai* and *Vīḷiṇam*.¹ Were all these names borne by the same king or by different kings of different times, and should all these victories be assigned to one king or to many?

From epigraphic records we know of a *Pāṇḍya* king to whom a good number of these appellations were applied and who was victorious in many of the battles mentioned in the poems of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. The king is generally known as *Neḍu-Māraṇ* and there is a consensus of opinion that the *Kōvai* had him for its hero. He is variously assigned to the close of the 7th

1. They have been analysed by Narayanasami-Aiyar and Gopinatha-Rao in *IA.* (1908 JI.) xxxvii. 193-8. A closer analysis is necessary and will be illuminating.

century,¹ the middle of the 8th² and the latter half of the same century.³

But there are some appellations and achievements recorded in the stanazas of the *Kōvai* which are not to be found in the epigraphic records which speak of the king, and it has therefore been thought that 'it is quite possible that a rhetorical work like this took for its hero a saintly king of legendary fame, and attributed to him all the achievements of the Pāṇḍyan line of kings that the author could think of in his day'.⁴ This suggestion that the *Kōvai* gives us a 'composite portrait' of a number of kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty is interesting and may have an element of truth in it, but would seem to be rather premature. Neither in the epigraphic nor in the literary records do we find any clear evidence of a multiplicity of kings to whom the appellations and the victories could be attributed, and no case has yet been made out for abandoning the accepted view that the poem and the inscriptions refer to only one king well known as Neḍu-Māraṇ. We do find, indeed, an occasional poem, of the degenerate days of the Tamils, in which a small poet,—as is the way with gentlemen of that tribe,—panders to the debased tastes of an insignificant chieftain and makes him sole heir to the vanished glories of all the generations of his ancestors and puts him in poetic possession of all the lost dominions of his dynasty. Such servility never marred the works of the elder days of Tamil literature. The *Mut-Tollāyiram*, 'The Three Nine-Hundreds', one of

1. Kanakasabhai-Pillai in *Madras Review* (1895 Ag.) i. 128, and in *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, (1904), 5: quoted by Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyāṅgār in *Nāna-sāharam* (c. 1902 Ag.) 2-5. This identification has been put forward by almost every subsequent writer, though generally without acknowledgment: Narayanaswami-Aiyar and Gopinatha-Rao in *IA*. (1908 JI.) xxxvii. 193-8; Gopinatha-Rao in *ST* (1907D-8J) vi. 55-9, M. Srinivasa-Aiyangar in *Tamil Studies* (1914) 253; Dr. S. Krishnaswami-Aiyangar in *The Beginnings of South Indian History* (1918) 253-6; M. S. Ramaswami-Aiyangar in *South Indian Jainism* (1922) 147-8; K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar in *Ancient Dekhan* (1917), 112-7) and P. T. Srinivasa-Iyangar in *History of the Tamils* (1929) 229-30.

2. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom* (1929) 17, 51, 53-5.

3. *SII*. III. 448.

4. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, *Ib.*, 55, n. 1.

the older poems in Tamil, is an apt illustration. Its sole purpose was to blazon the glories of the three well-known dynasties of the Tamil land, the Chōlas, the Cheras and the Pāṇḍyas, devoting to each of them a set of nine-hundred stanzas, and yet the poet did not fall victim to the temptation of attributing to the Chōla, or the Chēra or the Pāṇḍya of his days the achievements of all his ancestors. In the 106 stanzas of that poem which are all that have survived to us,¹ we have a stanza² in praise of a Chōla king, Karikāla,³ and another⁴ in praise of his descendant Kōc-Śem-kaṇ,⁵ and another in eulogy of a Pāṇḍya king born under the asterism Uttirāḍam.⁵ Obviously, the poet seeks to preserve distinctly the personality of each of the three kings, and, nowhere does he attempt to evolve composite pictures. The *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* does not seem to be very far removed from the *Mut-Tollāyiram* in point of time and there is no reason to apprehend that it departed so far from the *Mut-Tollāyiram* as is implied in the hypothesis that the poet has piled the mantles of generations of a line of kings on the puny shoulders of the last of the line.

For our purpose, however, it is really unnecessary to canvass this issue at any length. Even if it happens that the poet had in mind the achievements of a number of kings instead of only one king, the date of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* would still remain unaffected. The differences among historians as to the date of Neḍu-Māraṇ are themselves due to the fact that some incline to an early date in view of certain of the events attributed to Neḍu-Māraṇ whereas others incline to a later date in view of the other events. Even if the events are distributed among the reigns of a line of kings instead of being brought together into one reign, the lower and the upper limits would still remain as 670 and 775 A. D. The king—or kings—of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* must have therefore flourished between those two dates. Obviously

1. Collected and edited by Vidwan R. Rāghava-Aiyangār, (1905) all except one, 'எழுவார் தியானும்.....', for which see, TK. TK. 1005 : PA 60: PTL. 5; I. P. : N. 114.

2. கச்சி யொருகான் மிதியா.....(21).

3. See my book, *The Kaveri, the Maikharis and the Sangam Age* (1925), 14-59.

4. அந்தண ராவொடு.....(40).

5. கண்ணர் கதவந்திறமின்.....(39).

therefore, it makes very little difference, for the limited purpose of fixing the date of that poem, whether we hold that it concerns itself with one hero or with many. So, we may, for the present purpose, assume the probability of the current view that the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* had only one king for its hero and that he must have flourished somewhere between about 670 and 775 A.D. The conclusions arrived at on this assumption would stand good even though the other view might ultimately turn out to be the correct one.¹

Instances are not unknown of commentators on Tamil grammars having composed poems in honour of their patrons and incorporated them into their own commentaries. Most of the early chiefs of the Tamil country would have been forgotten if the poems in which they are praised had been lost : many of them, mere flies in their time, are yet preserved in the amber of the verse of the panegyrists. It may be that our commentator was anxious to pay his sovereign, or patron, not only the compliment of a *Kōvai* in his praise or in praise of him and his forebears, but also the further compliment of incorporating the *Kōvai* itself in a commentary which was bound to be studied closely by generation after generation of pupils, not to speak of scholars and poets: if this was the case, the commentary and the poem must have proceeded from the same pen and the commentator and the patron of the poet must have been contemporaries. We have no warrant, however, for assuming that invariably a commentator himself composed the verses which he utilised for illustrating his exposition: possibly, our commentator took up a *Kōvai* which lay ready to hand and turned it to his purpose,—and, in this case, it is probable that the commentator was removed from the poet and his patron by some distance of time, unless it had happened that poet and commentator, both actuated by a desire to pay court to the patron, collaborated to produce a commentary with illustrative quatrains incorporated into it,—a rather unlikely event.

But another possibility has also to be considered,—that of the commentary having been added to at different times. The major-

* 1. Merely with a view to simplifying the discussion I shall proceed, from this point, on the basis that only one king was the hero of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*.

rity of the illustrative verses,— if we omit the *Kōvai* and the grammatical bits,— are, as far as we have been able to trace them, taken from the works which are generally accepted as belonging to the Last Academy.¹ On this circumstance has been built a theory that the commentary was originally written by Nak-Kīrar and that he quoted only from the works of that Academy and that some time later the stanzas of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* were engrafted on the original commentary with such modifications as were consequential.² It has been even said that 'the modern commentary, such as it is, exhibits two layers, one which is old with most of the illustrations in archaic Tamil from the classics, with the second layer superimposed where the illustrations to the extent of 315 stanzas of poetry are made on purpose in a more modern language to be ordinarily understood by the pupils.'³

This theory is hard to prove: no facts of any value have been adduced in support of it.⁴ The commentary as we have it contains not only the quotations from the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* and the *Tol-Kāppiyam* and the works of the Last Academy but also a large number of quotations from poems and grammars of which we know very little.⁵ There being no presumption that they belong to an age prior to that of the *Kōvai*, there is no reason why they too should not be excised from the present text to help us to arrive at the old commentary postulated for this theory. If all these quotations are omitted, and with them all the connective ligatures, there would be very little left behind of any value.

1. They are about 26 in number, as already shown.

2. Pandit N. Vēdāśalam in *Nāna-Śāharam* (c. 1902 My), 5; Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyāṅgār in *Ib.* (c. 1902 Ag), 2-5; Dr. S. Krishnasami-Aiyangar in *The Beginnings of South Indian History* (1918), 254.

3. Dr. S. Krishnawami-Aiyangar, *op cit.*, 253.

4. The only argument advanced by Dr. S. Krishnawami-Aiyangar is this: 'That it is so is clearly in evidence on pages 125 and 191 of the late C. W. Thamotharam Pillai's edition of the *Irāyaṇār Ahapporūl* where the classical illustrations are actually put into modern Tamil the poetic sentiments being the same, every detail' (*Ib.* 253). As has been pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, 'the reference to pp. 125 and 191... is not easy to follow' (*Pandyan Kingdom*, 25, n. 1). Even the illustrations from the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* are occasionally put into 'modern Tamil' as will be shown presently.

5. They number about in all.

Could the 'Quatrain Sequence' alone have been an interpolation? The poems of the 'Sequence' are very appropriate as illustrations, and the text of the commentary does not look as if it had been mangled by the stanzas being forced into it. The only visible sign raising a suspicion is that, very often, where a quatrain is used to illustrate a proposition, the quatrain is introduced by a short bit in prose, such as, the 'poem for this is'. The quatrain and the bit of prose could be detached from the context: the proposition would still stand intact and intelligible, though utterly bereft of the illumination furnished by the illustration. The illustrative quatrain and the connective ligament have therefore the appearance of being later interpolations,—especially because in many places the ligature is very brief. But brevity seems to be no more than a trick of the commentator to draw attention to the illustrative quotation. The poems of the 'Sequence' are not foreign matter in the texture of the commentary. Even a casual perusal will suffice to reveal the extent to which the commentary seeks to wind itself round the quatrains: the commentator has taken pains in the commentary to explain and elucidate almost a fourth of the total number of the stanzas of the 'Sequence'.¹ It is quite unlikely that an interpolator, to conceal the interpolation, spun out explanations of a large number of the stanzas and incorporated the stanzas and their explanation into a pre-existing commentary. No motive could be thought of which incited the interpolator to set himself the task and no purpose would have been served by such extensive interpolation. A poet might have found both pleasure and profit in ringing a sustained pæan of versified praise of his sovereign, but what pleasure or profit would he have had in wrapping up his verses in the winding sheets of another's commentary?

We must not lose sight of the important fact that the commentary will be far less illuminating than now if the quatrains

1. See I. *AP. B.*, *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*, 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 17, 18-9, 20, 46, 47-9, 53, 55-8, 68-71, 73-4, 81-2, 84-6, 89, 98, 100, 104-7, 108, 109-10, 117-8, 130-1, 136, 145-6, 151-2, 161-2, 163-4, 178-9, 198-9, 205-8, 209, 210-1, 212, 239-40, 245, 255, 267, 272-5, 280, 282, 290, 298, 305-6, 317, 324-5. Those in bold type are explained at greater length in the commentary than the rest.

It will be seen that, out of a total of 329 stanzas now available, as many as 83 are explained in the commentary.

were all excised. Much of the clarity and a good deal of the interest of the commentary are due to these quatrains which furnish apt illustration of many a recondite distinction. It cannot be gainsaid that if these quatrains and the connective ligatures are removed on the assumption that they are interpolations the rest of the commentary will be quite insipid and portions of it will be purposeless.

The illustrative quatrains are crowded at certain places, especially at the end, with little or no comment or explanation between; but, this may be due to the difficulty of using up in the commentary as many as 329 stanzas,—and the difficulty would have been as great to a commentator who of deliberate purpose started utilising them all as illustrations in his commentary as it must have been to a mere interpolator who had to thrust a poem or two in each cranny or crevice he detected in the commentary. If we have regard to the circumstances that in some manuscripts the text of the commentary is longer,¹ though slightly so, that more quatrains are found to have had a place in the commentary than were originally known to us² and that the full 'Sequence' of 400 stanzas was perhaps originally incorporated into the commentary,³ we would have some justification for believing that the full text of the commentary has not survived and we would have an explanation for the occasional crowding of the illustrations. The crowding would, then, be due clearly to an attrition of the commentary and not to any interpolation into it.

The probabilities are all, therefore, in favour of the conclusions that the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* is an essential and intergral part of the commentary, that the poet of the *Kōvai* had for his patron,

1. These are all noted in I. *AP. B.*

2. Compare I. *AP. T.* with I. *AP. B.*

3. At two points in the commentary we seem to have indications that some of the illustrative quatrains might have been omitted.

என இத்தொடக்கத்தன கொள்க.

I. *AP. B.*, 6: 90.

இவ்விடத்துச் செய்யுள் பலவும் வந்தன எல்லாங்கொள்க.

I. *AP. B.*, 39: 224.

Perhaps these sentences were originally introduced by some late scholiast, almost as marginal notes, for the guidance of copyists and to indicate the dropping out of some of the illustrations. It is not difficult to see how such notes could have slipped into the text of the commentary.

and, in all probability took as the hero of his poem, a Pāṇḍya king who bore a multitude of appellations among the principal of which seems to have been Neḍu-Māraṇ, and that the commentary could not have been earlier than that king. If the king is to be sought for in the period between 670 and 775 A.D. it becomes obvious that the commentary and the commentator could not have been earlier.

The standard commentaries on the great poems and commentaries in Tamil contain occasional references to Iṟaiyaṇār's treatise and to its commentary and they quote from both: these references are likely to help us, however slightly, in fixing the dates of the treatise and the commentary.

The *Virutti* ('the Extended Gloss') on Amida-śāharaṇār's work on prosody, the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam*, quotes an aphorism from Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaḥ-Poruḷ*,¹ but mentions the name of neither the author nor the work.² Amida-śāharaṇār belongs to the age of the great Chōla king Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.),³ and the *Virutti* seems to have been written in the days of Amida-śāharaṇār himself.⁴

The commentary of Iḷam-Pūraṇar on the *Tol-Kāppiyam* contains two allusions to the treatise of Iṟaiyaṇār,— one of them being a reference to what appears to be a doctrine propounded in the treatise,⁵ and the other being a mention of the work by name, 'Iṟaiyaṇār's *Kaḷavu-Iyal*'.⁶ Iḷam-Pūraṇar is generally known by

1. No. 35.

2. 'ஓதல் காவல்.....' எனப் பிறரும் சொன்னாராகலின். AŚ. YAK. V. B. 55 : 201.

3. Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyanḡār, in *JIH*.

4. Amida-Śāharaṇār wrote another work, the *Yāppu-Arum Kalak-Kūrihai* (*Ib.*) which was commented on by Guṇa-śāharaṇār, perhaps a disciple of his (*Ib.*). This commentary refers to the *Virutti* in at least four places (Pandit C. R. Gōvindaraja-Mudaliar's edn. 1908, pp. 95, 105, 148, 188.) The *Virutti* must therefore have been earlier than the commentary of Guṇa-śāharaṇār.

5. 'காவல்', 'பொருட்டிரிவு' எனப் பிற நூலகத்து ஒதப்பட்ட இரு வகைப்பிரிவும். TK. TK 973 : PA 30; ATI 30; IPN. 42 and n. 1.

6. குத்திரத்தாற் பிண்டமாயிற்று இறையனார் களவியல்.

TK. TK 1429 : PA 484 ; AI 172; IP : R. 207 and n. 1.

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the appellation of Urai-Āsiriyaṇ, 'The Commentator', and is considered the earliest of the great Tamil commentators;¹ he quotes from the *Śūlā-maṇi*,² a work attributed to about 900 A.D.,³ and was perhaps earlier than the grammarian Pavaṇandi,—who seems to have adopted some of Iḷam-Pūraṇar's views,⁴—that is, earlier than 1205 A.D. about which time Pavaṇandi was flourishing in the court of the chieftain Śīya-Gaṅgaṇ.⁵

Another of Tol-Kāppiyar's commentators, Pēr-Āsiriyaṇ, refers often to Iṇaiyaṇār's treatise and its commentary. In one place he refers to the treatise by the name *Kaḷavu-Iyaḷ*,⁶ and in another he quotes the first aphorism of the treatise and suggests that the commentator was Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Madurai.⁷ In other places in his commentary, he speaks of 'those' of the three Academies,—the First, the Middle and the Last,⁸—and of 'the three classes of Academies'⁹ and of 'the

1. See lower down.

2. See TK. TK 1439: PA 494: ŚI 182: IP: R. 215 n.

3. Gopinatha-Rao in ŚT. (1906D- 7J.) v. 102. See also T. S. Kuppaswāmi-Sāstri in *Tamil-Aham* (1905 Jun) 136. M. Srinivasa-Aiyangar opines that the *Śūlā-maṇi* 'was composed....probably in the reign of the Pandya king Jayantan (A.D. 150) and named after his father Maravarman Avani Chulamani' (*Tamil Studies*, 219 n. See also *Ib.* 391-2).

4. Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyaṅgār, in ŚT. (1906 M-J) iv.305.

5. Gopinatha-Rao in ŚT. (1909 Jun-Jul.) iv. 396-9; MMU. V. Sāmināda-Aiyar's edn. of *Nannūḷ*, with Mayilai-Nādar's commentary (1918), vii-xii.

6. மற்றுக் களவியலுள் 'ஆங்கனம் புணர்ந்த கிழவோன்...'

TK. TK 1443: PA 498: ŚI 186: PA: B 489.

7. இனி, இவ்வுரை செய்தார் யாரோவென்றவழி, மதுரைக்கணக் கையாற்ற மகனார் நக்கீரனா உரையெழுதினான் பெயர்கூறலும்...'அன்பின்.'

TK. TK 1598: PA 653: MI 98: PA: B 598-9.

8. தலைச்சங்கத்தார் முதலாயினார் செய்யுட்களுள்

TK. TK 1237: PA 292: UI 17: PA: B 115.

இடைச் சங்கத்தாரும் கடைச்சங்கத்தாரும்

TK. TK 1493 : PA 548 : ŚI 236 : PA: B 526.

அவை...கடைச்சங்கத்தார் காலத்து வீழ்ந்தமையின்

TK. TK 1337 : PA 392 : ŚI 80 : PA: B. 296.

9. இறந்த காலத்துப் பிறபாசுண்டிகளும் மூன்று வகை சங்கத்தினர் வருணத்தொடுபட்ட சான்றோரும்

TK. TK 1594: PA 649: MI 94: PA: B 591.

poems composed by those of the three classes of Academies¹ and of 'those of the First, the Middle and the Last Academies and other authorities'.² Elsewhere, he says that 'when (the *Tol-Kāppiyam*) was written, those of the First and the Middle Academies must have composed poems' in a certain metre and that 'those of the Middle and the Last Academies composed poems in accordance with' the *Tol-Kāppiyam*,³ and that some 'had denied (the existence of) one of the two works compiled by the Academicians as the Hundred and Fifty Kalis and the Seventy Pari-Pāḍals' and affirms that that work was current in his days.⁴ In yet another place, he speaks of the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* having been the work of the Lord and quotes a passage from the General Preface to the commentary thereon which says that the *Tol-Kāppiyam* was the grammar for those of the Middle and the Last Academies and attributes that statement to 'Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇak-kāyaṇār who determined the purport of the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* among those of the Last Academy'.⁵ It is probable that some of these references are not indisputably to Academies and Academicians,⁶ but their apparent purport may, for the present, be accepted. All that we can venture upon in regard to the date of Pēr-Āṣīriyar

1. மூன்றுவகைச் சங்கத்தாருஞ் செய்யுட் செய்திலரென்பதூஉம்

Ib. 93.

2. தலையிடைகடைச் சங்கத்தாரும் பிறசான்றோரும்

TK. TK 1292: PA 347: ŚI 35: PA: B 257.

3. இந்நூல் செய்த காலத்துத் தலச்சங்கத்தாரும் இடைச்சங்கத்தாரும் அவ்வாறு கட்டளையடியாற் பயின்றுவரச் செய்யுள் செய்தாரென்பது இச் சூத்திரங்களாற் பெறுதுமென்பது...இனிக்கடைச்சங்கத்தார் அநுநூற்றிரு பத்தைந்தடியும் பயின்றுவர.....கடைச்சங்கத்தார்.....

TK. TK 1308: PA 363: ŚI 51: PA: B' 253-4.

4. இனி நூற்றைம்பது கவியும் எழுபது பரிபாடலு மெனச் சங்கத் தார் தொடுத்தவற்றுள் ஒன்றினை யில்லையென்றார். அஃதிக்காலத்தினும் வீழ்ந்ததினமையின் அவரிலக்கணத்தினை வழுப்படுத்தென்பது

TK. TK 1406: PA 461: ŚI 149: PA: B 428.

5. பிற்காலத்துப் பெருமானடிகள் களவியல் செய்தாங்குச்செய்யினும்கடைச்சங்கத்தாருட் களவியற் பொருள்கண்ட கணக்காயுரை மகரை நக்கீரர் 'இடைச்சங்கத்தார்க்குங் கடைச்சங்கத்தார்க்கும் நூலாயிற்றுத் தொல்காப்பியம்' என்றாராகவின்

TK. TK 1594: PA 649: MI 94: PA: B 591.

6. I have in mind the contentions raised by me in an article on Śāṅgam Literature in the *Hindu Literary Supplement* (April 16, 1930), and partially utilised in V. R. Ramachandra-Dikshitar's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (1930), 4, 5 n3, 6, 23 n1.

are the surmises that he might have been a contemporary of Ottak-Kūttar, the great poet of the 12th century A.D., and of Nēmi-Nādar¹ (who was perhaps also known as Guṇa-Vīra-Paṇḍidar)² and that he might have quoted from Guṇa-Vīra-Paṇḍidar's *Nēmi-Nādam*,³—surmises which suggest that he could not have been earlier than the 12th century.

Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār, in his commentary on the *Śilapp-Adihāram*, mentions 'the commentary on the *Poruḷ* of Iraiyaṇār written by Nak-Kiraṇār the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār.'⁴ Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār's patron, Poppaṇṇa Gāṅgēyar, having been probably the son of a general of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (1100-41 A.D.), it may be taken that Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār is assignable to the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.⁵

We may now summarise the information obtainable from the commentaries. There can be no doubt about Iraiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ* having been accepted as a work of authority in the days of the *Virutti* on Amida-Śāharaṇār's *Yāppu-Arum-Kaḷam*, and even earlier—if Iḷam-Pūraṇār was earlier,—by the earliest commentator on the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, who mentions also the name of the author as Iraiyaṇār, but, we hear nothing of the commentary. By Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār, at the end of the twelfth century, the treatise is attributed to Iraiyaṇār and the commentary is attributed to Nak-Kiraṇār the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār. Perhaps almost at the same time, Pēr-Āśiriyar takes the treatise to be the work of the Lord, receives the commentary as the work of Nak-Kirar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār and accepts practically all

1. V. Sadāśiva-Paṇḍārattār in the Preface (pp. v-vi) to his edn. of Āttiraiyar Pēr-Āśiriyar's Comment on the 'Podup-Pāyiram' to the *Tol-Kāppiyam* (1923). Cf. Kanakasundaram-Pillai's note on *Tamil Nāvalar Śaridai* (1921), 129 : 47.

2. Vidwān R. Rāghava-Aiyaṅgār, in his Preface (p. 3) to his edn. of the *Nēmi-nūdam* (2nd edn. 1923).

3. See TK. TK. 1264 : PA 319. ŚI 7 : PA : B 179 and n., the quotation being from the *Nēmi-nūdam*, 5.

4. கணக்காயனார் மகனார் நக்கீரனாரைத்த இறையனார் பொருளுரை யானும்.....IKA. ŚA. 8 Venil. 1-2. AN.

5. Gopinatha-Rao in *ST.* (1901 Jun-Jl.) iv. 401-3. Mahāmahō-pādhyaya V. Śāmināda-Aiyar, however, refuses to commit himself to anything more than that Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār must have been earlier than Naccinārkkū-Iniyar (IKA. ŚA³ Intr. 192).

that is to be found in the commentary in respect of the Academies and the origin of the treatise. At any rate, by the close of the twelfth century, neither Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār nor Pēr-Āṣīriyar had any doubt about Nak-Kīrar having been the author of the commentary.

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that the treatise could not have been much earlier than the eleventh century or that the accounts of the Academies could not have become current before the twelfth century. Very few of the literary works of the earlier centuries have survived, and even the commentaries of Iḷam-Pūraṇar and Pēr-Āṣīriyar are only available to us in parts.

On the other hand, we have evidence which seems to establish clearly that this commentary must be a much earlier work. The evidence is furnished by Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār and Pēr-Āṣīriyar themselves and is to be found in the very passages which have been already quoted. The passages,— one from each of these two commentators,— have to be quoted at greater length than we have done before.

Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār, in the course of his commentary on the *Śilapp-Adihāram*, having given an account of the three Academies and the historical geography of the Tamil country, says. 'If asked as to where this is obtained from, (I say that) it is obtained from' a statement in the *Śilapp-Adihāram* itself¹ and 'from the Commentary on the *Poruḷ* of Iraiyaṇār written by Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār and from the Foreword of Iḷam-Pūraṇa-Aḍiḥaḷ the Urai-Āṣīriyar and from other sources'.² To which work did Iḷam-Pūraṇar write the Foreword to which Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār refers here? It cannot be a Foreword to his commentary on the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, for we do not find one prefixed to that commentary. Nor do we know that he wrote any other work to which he could have written a Foreword. Considering that in the above passage the Foreword is referred

1. IKA. ŚA. 11, *Kāḍu*- 18-20,

2. இஃது என்னை பெறுமாறெனின் “வடிவேலெறிந்த கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள” என்பதனும, கணக்காயனார் மகனார் நக்கீரனார் உரைத்த இதையனார் பொருளுரையானும், உரையாசிரியராகிய இளம்பூரண வடிகளி முகவுரையானும், பிறவாற்றானும் பெறுதும்.

IKA. ŚA. 8 *Venil*, 1-3. AN.

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to immediately after the commentary of Nak-Kīrar on Iraiyaṇār's treatise, it is not improbable that what is referred to is a Foreword by Iḷam-Pūraṇar to a commentary by him on that work.

This surmise seems to be confirmed by a passage of Pēr-Āṣiriyar to which a partial reference has been already made. On a discussion of what an original work is, Pēr-Āṣiriyar holds that the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* is an original work, and he concludes that certain competent authorities would not admit that the *Tol-Kāppiyam* is a derivative work which has deviated in some respects from the *Ahattiyam*, its original. He states the reason for the refusal thus : ' Because Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār who determined the purport of the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* among those of the Last Academy has said that " to the Academicians of the Middle and of the Last Academies the treatise was the *Tol-Kāppiyam*", and because he who wrote a commentary for those of later times bore testimony to the same effect, and because he, being one who had taken the vows of (complete?) renunciation, would not state an untruth'.¹ This passage leaves no room to doubt that Pēr-Āṣiriyar knew of two commentaries on Iraiyaṇār's treatise, that he considered Nak-Kīrar's was the earlier of them and that the latter was the work of an ascetic. There being reason to believe that Iḷam-Pūraṇar was an ascetic, it is highly probable that the later commentary was by Iḷam-Pūraṇar,—a probability which confirms the surmise drawn already from the statement of Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār.

We may, therefore, take it that it is sufficiently established that Iraiyaṇār's grammar had two commentaries, the earlier by Nak-Kīrar and the later by Iḷam-Pūraṇar, and that both of them were current in the days of Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār and Pēr-Āṣiriyar. We do not know when Iḷam-Pūraṇar's commentary disappeared; perhaps it had ceased to be current by the days of Naccinārkkū-

1. என்னை? கடைச்சங்கத்தாருட் களவியற் பொருள்கண்ட கணக் காயனார் மகனார் நக்கீரர் ' இடைச்சங்கத்தார்க்குங் கடைச்சங்கத்தார்க்கும் தூலாயிற்றுத் தொல்காப்பியம்' என்றாகலானும், பிற்காலத்தார்க்கு உரையெழுதினோரும் அது கூறிக் கரிபோக்கினாராகலானும் அவர் டிலவுத் துறந்த நோன்புடையாராகலாற் பொய் கூறாக்கலானுமென்பது.

Ṇiyar who does not mention it at all and refers to the present commentary as Nak-Kīrar's.¹

Nak-Kīrar was obviously earlier than not only Aḍiyārkkunallār and Pēr-Aṣīriyar but also Ṇam-Pūraṇar. But Ṇam-Pūraṇar has to be assigned to a period later than the *Śūlā-maṇi*, from which he quotes and earlier than Aḍiyārkkunallār by whom he is mentioned, that is, he must be later than 900 A. D. and earlier than about 1150 A. D. Tentatively we may assign Ṇam-Pūraṇar to about 1000 A. D.² It follows then that Nak-Kīrar must be earlier still. But by no means can he be earlier

1. We cannot be sufficiently thankful to Pandit M. Rāghava Aiyangār for having drawn attention to the facts on which the two earlier paras are based. [*ST.* (1906 M-J) iv. 305-11].

The Pandit has also drawn attention to the facts that on two points the commentary now current propounds the same view as Iṛaiyaṇār does in his commentary on the *Tol-Kāppiyam* and that Śēṇavaraiyar, a later commentator on the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, when dealing with those points, makes mention of those views as those of Ṇam-Pūraṇar, and does not even suggest that Nak-Kīrar too shared those views. The Pandit, therefore, draws the inference that the commentary now current on Iṛaiyaṇār's Grammar is the work of Ṇam-Pūraṇar and not the earlier one of Nak-Kīrar.

The Pandit himself recognises that the two instances are too slender to base any but a tentative conclusion upon. Of Ṇam-Pūraṇar's commentary on the *Tol-Kāppiyam* too little is now available to enable us to decide that the identity of view is not due so much to affinities of thought as to identity of authorship. If casual resemblances are to serve as proofs of identity, the mutually corroborative statements in the commentaries of Aḍiyārkkunallār and Pēr-Aṣīriyar should be proof positive of both the above mentioned commentaries having come from the pen of only one of them. It is difficult to account for at least three important circumstances,—(a) how the paragraph affirming the authorship of Nak-Kīrar came to be inserted in the wrong commentary, (b) how there was a dispute about the authorship of the commentary and not about the identity of the commentary, and (c) how the dispute was not whether Nak-Kīrar or Ṇam-Pūraṇar was the author but whether Nak-Kīrar or Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ was the real commentator. None of these difficulties arises if the hypothesis of a later and distinct commentary by Ṇam-Pūraṇar is accepted.

2. The sobriquet of 'Urai-Aṣīriyar' which Ṇam-Pūraṇar has earned must, therefore, be due, not to his being the first commentator in Tamil, but to his being the first commentator on the *Tol-Kāppiyam*.

than about 670 A. D., the earliest date for the hero (or, for the patron of the poet) of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*.

On these facts the conclusion becomes irresistible that Nak-Kīrar's commentary on Iraiyaṇār's treatise must be later than about 670 A. D. and earlier than about 1000 A. D. and that Nak-Kīrar must, therefore, be looked for between these limits.

Who is this Nak-Kīrar? When did he live? What is his title to fame?

The truth about this Nak-Kīrar is unfortunately obscured by the passages interpolated into the commentary. If the legend in the Preface to the commentary is to be believed, Nak-Kīrar was a member of the Last Academy and played an important role in the play in which Uruttira-Śaṇmaṇ was the leading star. But the Preface is not sure about the identity of Nak-Kīrar: first, it calls him 'the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār',¹ and then, it makes him plain Nak-Kīrar,² and, lastly, it makes him 'the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Madurai'.³ Those who are familiar with the literature attributed to the Last Academy are bound to start with the presumption that 'Kaṇakkāyaṇār' is a different person from 'Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Madurai' and that, therefore, a Nak-Kīrar who is the son of the former is not necessarily the Nak-Kīrar who is the son of the latter.

Let us turn to the classics of the Śaṅgam literature and count the Nak-Kīrars we come across. To a poet of the name of 'Nak-Kīrar' are attributed sixteen poems in the *Aha-Nāṇūru*,⁴ seven in the *Nar-Tiṇai*⁵ and seven in the *Kuṟum-Tohai*.⁶ To 'Nak-Kīrar of Madurai' are attributed three poems,—one in the *Pura-Nāṇūru*⁷ and two in the *Aha-Nāṇūru*.⁸ A 'Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār' is the author of a poem in the *Aha-*

1. See above, p. 190; see also p. 188.

2. See above, p. 191.

3. See p. 191.

4. Nos. 57, 120, 126, 141, 205, 227, 249, 253, 290, 310, 340, 346, 369, 389.

5. Nos. 31, 86, 197, 258, 340, 358, 367.

6. Nos. 78, 105, 131, 161, 266, 280, 368.

7. No. 395.

8. Nos. 36, 78.

Nānūru.¹ A poet, 'Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Maḍurai' is the author of two short poems in the *Pura-Nānūru*² and of two long poems in the *Pattup-Pāṭṭu*.³ It is generally assumed that all these names refer to the same poet and it is consequently believed that he went by the name of Nak-Kīrar, that he hailed from Maḍurai and that his father was Kaṇakkāyaṇār and that he too belonged to Maḍurai. But why should we assume that all the four names designate the same person and why should we ignore the distinctive appellations? Those who wrote the colophons to the Śaṅgam works have been at great pains to indicate differences in personality by adding distinctive epithets and appellations: the colophons themselves show with what meticulous care the distinctions have been sought to be indicated. To ignore such distinctions, before making out a case for passing them over, cannot but lead to the utter effacement of genuine historical characters and may even result in the creation of a ghost which is a dreadful composite of all the suppressed personalities. Where, again, are we to draw the line in selecting the persons out of whom we would evolve this composite personality? The really essential portion of the name *Nak-Kīrar* is *Kīrar*, the prefix *Na-* being only a distinctive particle added as a mark of honour and the intermediate *-k-* being merely a product of liaison.⁴ In the Śaṅgam literature we come across about twenty-five, Kīraṇs,—almost each of whom seems to be a distinct character.⁵ If we are to go about clubbing the Nak-Kīraṇs to

1. No. 93.

2. Nos. 56, 189.

3. *Tiru-Muruḥ-Ārrup-Padai* and *Neḍu-nal-vāḍai*.

4. In both the *Tiru-Vīlaiyāḍal-Purāṇams* the commentator on Irāiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Poruḷ* is known mainly as Kīraṇ.

5. In the list below I am not preserving the differences in the readings, 'Kīraṇ', Kīrar', Kīraṇar'. I am also treating all Iḷam-Kīraṇs as if they were Kīraṇs.

Kīraṇ, Andi Iḷam-

—, Anduvaṇ

—, Allam-

—, Idaiyaṇ Neḍum-

—, Inmeṇ

—, Uvarkkannūrup-Pullam-

—, Eyiṇandai mahaṇār Iḷam-

—, Kāśipaṇ

—, Kīram

gether, by what process of reasoning are we to exclude the numerous Kīraṇs? If we include them, do we not make of our composite Nak-Kīrar a figure all too fearful to behold?

To Nak-Kīrar is generally attributed the authorship of a miscellaneous series of works, apart from those to which we have already referred. In the eleventh book of the Holy Canon of the Scriptures of Tamil Śaivism, as many as ten poems have been grouped together under the name of Nak-Kīrar, but only one of them, the *Tiru-Muruḥu-Ārruḥ-Paḍai*, is received as a work of the Śaṅgam group.¹ In the *Virutti* on Amida-śāharar's *Yāḥḥu-Aṟum-Kalam*, the commentator quotes a prosodic aphorism from 'Nak-Kīrar's Treatise on Prosody',² and, later on, he quotes another prosodic aphorism from 'Nak-Kīrar's Treatise', and immediately below quotes also a versified rule of grammar in which mention is made of 'Nak-Kīrar's Treatise on Prosody'.³ The last quotation comes obviously from another treatise dealing at least partly with prosody and that treatise must be earlier

—, Kuṭṭuvan

—, Kuṟum-

—, Śēndan

—, Tumbi-śēr

—, Tumbi Mōśi

—, Tēṇikkūḍi

—, Paḍumāttu Mōśi

—, Porundil Iḷam-

—, Maḍal pāḍiya Madam-

—, Mūlam-

—, Mōśi

—, Vinait-tolil Śō-

Kīraṇ-Eyirriyaṇ (Kaḷārka-)

Kīraṇ-Kannaṇār (Kiḍaṅgil)

Kīraṇ-Korṟaṇ (Kaḍumattu Mōśi)

Kīraṇ-Śāttan (Pāṇḍiyaṇ)

1. The authorship of these works is discussed in my forthcoming work, *Śaivism in South India: Mediæval Period*.

2. 'ஐஞ்சேரடுக்கலும்.....' என்று நக்கீரனாடிநூலுள் எடுத்தோ தீப்பட்டமையால். AŚ. YAK 93: V : B. 348.

3. 'ஐஞ்சேரடுக்கலும்.....' என நக்கீரர்நூலுள்.....' சேருநோடி.....தொல்காப்பியத்துள்ளு நக்கீரனாடிநூலுள்ளுங் கேட்கவே'. AŚ. YAK 95: V : B. 414.

than the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam*. It follows that Nak-Kīrar's prosodic work must be earlier still. In the same commentary we have reference to a work called 'Nak-Kīrar's *Nālaḍi-Nāpūru*', Nak-Kīrar's 'Four Hundred Quatrains',¹ but the work is, perhaps, not a prosodic treatise but a sequence of poems of general reflections. Two works in Sanskrit, a *Sahasra-nāma* in praise of the goddess of Kālahasti² and a Lexicon of Sanskrit words³ are also attributed to him. We have two poems in Tamil which are said to have been sung by him by way of incantations to make one man live and make another die.⁴ He is said to have also written a short metrical treatise in Tamil on an alchemic toipc.⁵

What warrant have we for imputing all these varied works to one person,—to one Nak-Kīrar? None, except the supposed identity of the name of the authors. Even if a Nak-Kīrar was the author of many of these works, what authority have we for assuming that he was identical with this one or that one of the Nak-Kīrars we know of as the authors of a number of Śaṅgam pieces? We have no basis for even assuming that all these works were composed in the same age. To which of those Nak-Kīrars is this Nak-Kīrar to be equated? Was he Nak-Kīrar of Madurai, or Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār, or Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār of Madurai, or the Nak-

1. இன்னவை பிறவும், நக்கீரர் நாலடி நானூற்று வண்ணத்தால் வருவனவும் எல்லாம் தூங்கிசைச் செப்பலோசை. AŚ. YAK. 57: V. B. 217 Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyanār calls this work 'Nak-Kīraṇār's *Adi-nālu*' ŚT. (1908 O-N) vi. 563: Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Śāmināda-Aiyar calls it *Nālaḍi-Nāpādu* (PNN³. Intr. 49). It has also to be noted that a treatise of this latter name is also quoted from in AŚ. YAK. V. B. (1: 32, 31: 121), but its authorship is not mentioned.

2. PNN. Ś³. (1923), Intr. 50.

3. See ŚT. (1916 O-N) xiv. 498.

4. அவை, 'ஆரிய நன்று.....' எனவும், 'முரணில் பொதியில்.....' எனவும் இவை தெற்கண்வாயில் திறவாகப் பட்டிமண்டபத்தார்பொருட்டி நக்கீரர் ஒருவன் வாழவும் ஒருவன் சாவவும் பாடிய மந்திரம் அங்கதப் பாட்டாயின. TK. TK. 1435: PA 490: ŚI. 178: PA: B 484. See also Ib. VI. R. 211, and also *Tamil-Nūvalar-Śaridai*, 7-8.

5. My friend, Dr C. S. Murugēśa-Mudaliyār, head of the Department of Siddha Medicine in the Government School of Indian Medicine, Madras, tells me that he possesses a copy of the work.

Kīrar without epithet or appellation? Indeed, the Nak-Kīrar the son of Kaṇakkāyaṇār who is assumed to be the commentator on Iṟaiyaṇār's treatise is not generally identified with his namesake the author of the poem in the *Pura-Nānūru*, but with a hypothetical person compounded of all these persons, for, it does not suit the miracle-mongers to attribute the marvellous commentary to a poet whose reputation has to rest on a solitary poem of twenty-three lines.

The difficulties in the way of rolling up all or most of the Kīraṇs and Nak-Kīraṇs into one glorious and peerless Nak-Kīraṇ do not end here. Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu, a great saint and psalmodist of Tamil Śaivism who has been located in the middle of the 7th century A. D., alludes in a hymn to one of the legends which have grown around Śaṅgam literature,—how, for obtaining a purse of gold for Tarumi, the god Śiva became a poet and a member of the Tamil Academy.¹ That such a legend should have found place in Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu's hymn is, by itself,² cogent proof that the sober history of Śaṅgam literature had come to be forgotten by the days of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araṣu and that over it had fallen the pall of oblivion. While the tales of the Academies show that Nak-Kīrar of the Śaṅgam literature was much anterior to the middle of the 7th century A. D., the Nak-Kīrar of the commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's grammar could not have been earlier than the middle of the same century, the *Pāṇḍik-Kovai* being incorporated in the commentary. How, then, are we to accept the hypothesis that Nak-Kīrar the commentator on Iṟaiyaṇār was one of the Nak-Kīraṇs who were the poets of some of the Śaṅgam pieces?

The solution to the puzzle lies in our resolutely facing the facts and discarding the romances. The quaint legends woven round Śaṅgam literature have Śiva for their hero and have, therefore, obtained a very firm foothold in the imagination and the faith of millions of the Tamil people. Most of the legends are at least seven hundred years old and some of them may be as

1. நன்பாட்டுப் புலவனாய்ச் சங்கமேறி
நற்கனகக்கிழி தருமிக்கருளினோன்காண்.

Hymn on Tirup-puttūr

2. For the present I am ignoring the part which, according to both the *Tiru-Vīḷaiyūdal-Purāṇams*, Nak-Kīrar played in this connection, though it goes a long way to support my contentions.

ancient as two thousand years. Traditions so long and so deeply rooted have naturally attained to the status of articles of faith and are not to be lightly brushed aside. Still, legends are only legends and can be no substitutes for history.

The puzzle will stand solved if only we will accept two outstanding facts,— that the Śaṅgam literature must have been much earlier than the commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's *Ahaṇ-Porul*, and that the commentary itself could not have been earlier than Neḍu-Māraṇ, the patron of the poet of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. The latter fact seems to be adequately established by the considerations to which attention has been drawn above while the former fact is vouched for by the circumstances that cycles of romance had already clustered round Śaṅgam literature by the days of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu and that, even in the days of Neḍu-Māraṇ, the commentator on Iṟaiyaṇār's treatise could quote only from works which had survived to him as anthologies.

Once these two facts are admitted, it follows inevitably that the Nak-Kīrars of the Śaṅgam pieces must be different from the Nak-Kīrar of the commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's grammar. There can be no disputing the propositions that there might have been at least one Nak-Kīrar before the middle of the 7th century A. D. and at least one Nak-Kīrar after that period.

Every one of us is willing to yield ready assent to the proposition that every generation since the days of Adam must have had its Tom or Dick or Harry : why, then, should we not agree that Nak-Kīrars might have been plenty on either side of the abovementioned chronological watershed. Those who would hesitate have only to remind themselves that atleast two Auvais and three Perum-Dēvaṇārs are known to even the most incurably orthodox among Tamil scholars.

We may leave the batch of Śaṅgam poems to be allotted among the earlier Nak-Kīrars according to their respective deserts, if not according to the colophons to their poems. We need not also exercise ourselves over tracing out the author of the two imprecatory verses or of the alchemic treatise or of the *Sahasra-nāma* or of the *Lexicon*. Probably the treatise on prosody and the commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's grammar proceeded from the same person, a grammarian: if so, only one Nak-Kīrar wrote them and he must have been later than about 670 A. D. This same Nak-Kīrar might have written the

Nālaḍi-Nānūru as well, but we are not on that enquiry at present.¹ Perhaps it is a virtue in historical speculations, to make as few assumptions as possible. We may well be content, therefore, with accepting the Nak-Kīrars we find in the Saṅgam poems and adding only one more to the tale of Nak-Kīrars, though on the other slope of the chronological watershed.

This later Nak-Kīrar might in all probability have been a contemporary of Neḍu-Māraṇ of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* and he might have derived the triple satisfaction from composing the *Kōvai* that he had flattered his patron by making him the hero of his muse, that he had turned the poems to the useful purpose, of illustrating his commentary and that he had assured the permanence of his own fame and that of his patron by combining commentary and eulogy into a treatise on Love which Tamil scholars would study with close attention for countless centuries. If these surmises are correct, this Nak-Kīrar must have lived in the period between 670 and 775 A. D., as has been already pointed out.

The conclusion thus reached would seem to be confirmed by a circumstance already touched upon, though by itself it is very slender. It has been already shown how Nak-Kīrar's work on prosody must have been earlier than a metrical grammar quoted from in the *Virutti* on the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam*. An adequate length of time has to be allowed for each of those works to have attained the rank of a classic worth quoting from. The *Virutti* on the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam* having been composed about 1000 A. D., the metrical grammar referring to Nak-Kīrar's treatise on prosody might have been written about 850 A. D., and Nak-Kīrar's work itself might have been written about 700 A. D. If the treatise on prosody and the commentary on Irāiyaṇār's grammar were productions of the same person, the Nak-Kīrar of our enquiry would stand assigned to about 700 A. D.,—a conclusion which is wholly in accord with the one already reached from a consideration of the data relating to the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*.²

If Nak-Kīrar's commentary belongs to about the eighth century A. D., how much earlier was Irāiyaṇār's treatise? The

1. One is tempted to identify this work with either the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai* itself or the *Nālaḍiyār*, but it would seem to be greatly unwise to succumb to the temptation.

2. The commentary contains interesting allusions such as :

ஊரோனப்படுவது உறையூர்.

I. AP. I. B. 30.

legendary account has it that the commentary came hot on the heels of the treatise, but it remains uncorroborated. The treatise is now called after *Iraiyāṇār*, but we do not know why. The name *Iraiyāṇār* is not to be found either in the treatise or in the commentary and it is not mentioned till we reach *Iḷam-Pūraṇar*. In earlier literature the name occurs only twice,—in the *Kurum-Tohai* as that of the author of a poem, and in the *Tiru-Valluva-Mālai* as that of an eulogist of the *Tiruk-Kural*, but there is no reason whatever to assume identity of either personality or of authorship with the author of the treatise on Love. Whether the Grammar was the work of either of those two *Iriyāṇārs* is more than we can now profess to decide. The view accepted traditionally is that *Irai-y-aṇṇār* is a word signifying God and that the work was called *Iraiyāṇār's* as the author was God himself. The first part of the proposition is quite sound,¹

மதரை ஆவணியவிட்டமே உறையூர்ப் பங்குனியுத்திரமே
கருத்தர் உள்ளி விழவே.

I. AP. 16: B. 134:

. குடையோடு

கழுமலந் தந்த நற்றேர்ச் செம்பியன்

பங்குனி விழவின் வஞ்சியோ

ள்ளி விழவினுறந்தையுஞ் சிறிதே.

I. AP. 28: B. 180:

These might be of some help in determining the date of the commentary did we but know definitely when such sayings and verses could have become popular.

1. தெளிதரு நிலமையது ஷிவிலன் முழுவதும் இறையோன்
அளிவரும் அருளிஞோடு அகத்தினன் புறத்தினன் அமைந்தே.

Nam-Ālvār, *Tiru-Vāy-Moli*, 1 : 3 பத்துடை : 2 எளிவரும்.

கறையார் நெடுவேல் மறமன்னர் வீய விசயன் தேர் கடவி
இறையான் கையில் நிறையாத முண்டம் நிறைத்த எந்தையிடம்.

Tiru-Maṅgai-Ālvār, *Periya Tiru-Moli*, 5 : 1 அறிவ : 8 கறை.

‘இந்திரனென்னின்.....’ என்பதனுள் இந்திரனையும் இறையோனையும் முருகனையும் ஒப்புமறுத்து நெடியோனை உவமங்கூறலின்.....

TK. TK 1252 : PA 307 : UI 31 : PA: B 144.

The word means also a minor god :

கடையீல்லா வறிவோடு ஞானமுங் காட்சியு

முடைமையா யுலகேத்த வொண்பொருள தியல்புணர்ந்து

மறவாழி யிறையவரு மாதவரும் புடைகுழ

வறவாழி வலனு யரியரு ணெறியே யருளியோய்.

AŚ. YAK. 83: V: B 296.

இந்திரன் முதலிய இறையவர் பதங்களும்

TV. *Tiruk-Kural*, PMA : *Uraip-Pāyiram*

but the latter part is merely legendary. The word *Irai-v-aṇār* is a variant, but its meaning is not so precisely fixed, and it is used indifferently for 'God'¹ as well as for 'chief' or 'lord',² 'husband',³ 'king'.⁴ The primary form of these two words is *Irai*, which means 'chief',⁵ and it is only in its extensions that it bears the various meanings 'lord', 'king', 'God'. But the form

For இறையவன் See PPPN. *TVP.* 1:28; 2:2; 19:1; 25:3; 30:40; 34:11; 39:28.

1. இறையவன் குரவனியல்குண னென்கோன்

IKA. *SA. X.* Nāḍu-kān. : 184, and AN.

.....தன்னடியளவானே எல்லாவுலகயுமுளந்த இறையவன்
கடந்த பாப்பு முழுதையும்.....

TV. *Tiruk-Kural*, 610: *PMA.*

இறையவன் இயங்கு திணைக்கண் ணும்..... 'அகா முதல.....'
அத்போல இறையவனாகிய முசிலையுடைத்து உலக மென.....

TK. *TK.* 46 : *EA* 46 : *MI* 13 : *NI* : *Su.* 66.

ஆகமங்கனையுணர்ந்த பூசகர் அத்திருவாதிரைக்குத் செய்வமாகிய இறை
வனுக்கு விழாவைத் தொடங்க.

Pari-Pāḍal, 11:78, *PMA.*

For இறையவன், see PPPN. *TVP.*, 4:12; 13:14; 20:6; 27:43; 30:6; 31:7; 42:8; 45:1; 46:10; 48:28; 49:10; 51:10; 55:3; 56:11; 57:33, 37.

2. தெய்வமும் விலங்குங் கள்வருந் தமக்கு இறைவராயினருமென.....
நான்கு பகுதியான் அச்சம்பிறக்கும்.....இறையெனப் படுவார் தந்தையரும்
ஆசிரியரும் அரசரும் முசலாயினர்.

TK. *TK.* 1201 : *PA.* 256 : *MPI* 8 : *PAB* 18.

3. இந்துணைப் பதமத்து அலர் மகள் தனக்கும்

இன்பன் நற்புவி தனக்கு இறையவன்,

Tiru-Maṅgai-Ālvār, *Periya Tiru-Moli*, 2 : 3 விற்பெரு : 5 இன்.

4. See under foot note 3, and also :

இந்நாட் டிவ்வுரினையென யிழந்து

IKA. *SA.* xxii *Alal.* 144.

பொறை யொருங்குமேல் வருங்காற் றுக்கி யிறைவற்
கிறையொருங்கு நேர்வது நாடு

TV. *Tiruk-kural*, 733.

இறையவன் பிரிய வில்லிருந்தாற்றி.....இறையவன்

சேருதலெதிர் சென்று வணங்குதல்.....*Vira-Śōliyam*; T: 73-4.

5. தந்துணை ஆயர் பாவை நப்பின்னை

தனக்கு இறை மந்தையோர்க் கெல்லாம்

Tiru-Maṅgai-Ālvār, *Periya-Tiru-Moli*, 2 : 3 : 5

For இறை, see PPPN. *TVP.*, 2:13; 9:4; 10:5; 22:19; 23:25; 26:24; 27:35; 37:5; 42:5; 43:8, 13; 51:5; 54:36; 55:26.

Irai-y-aṇār seems to be used only in the sense of 'God'.¹ If, however, we bear in mind the very common Indian practice of naming people after the gods, we get an easy explanation of how mortals could have come to bear the names of God. We have the option of believing that *Iraiyaṇār* the grammarian was either a god² or was a man who bore his god's name, and the option is not hard to exercise in favour of his having been a mere mortal.

At a number of places in the *Virutti* on the *Yāṭṭu-Arum-Kalam* the commentator quotes several grammatical aphorisms and attributes them to a 'great scholar' whom he variously describes by numerous periphrases the gist of which is that he bore the name of the god Śiva.³ As *Iraiyaṇār* is the name of Śiva and as the *Iraiyaṇār* of the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* is also said to be Śiva, the surmise has been ventured that the 'great author' referred to in the periphrases is the *Iraiyaṇār* of the *Kaḷavu-Iyal*.⁴ But it has been pointed out that in the case of certain of these allusions we have variant readings giving the name *Mayēccurar*⁵ as that of the grammarian quoted from,⁶ that that name pertains eminently to Śiva, that the commentator on the *Yāṭṭu-Arum-Kalak-Kārihai* refers also to some of the gram-

1. The composition of the words *Irai-van* and *Irai-y-an* deserves to be compared with that of pairs like *talai-y-an* and *talai-v-an* and perhaps also with pairs such as *Siri-y-an* and *Śiru-v-an*.

2. Pandit C. R. Namasivaya-Mudaliyar asks whether the work was attributed to God in pursuance of the belief, well-expressed in the comment on the 2nd aphorism, that 'where without effort or set-purpose on one's part, one's object stands achieved, it is said to be God's work' (I. *AP.* 2: B 46-7.) But if we accept the tale in the Preface, it cannot be said with reason that the king had made no effort to obtain a grammar on *Poruḷ*.

3. See for instance; என்ருர் பிறை நெடு முடிக்கறை மிடற் றரனார் பெயர் மகிழ்ந்த பேராசிரியர்.

For the periphrases see, *AŚ. YAK. V. B.*, 8:53, 27:110, 32:125, 33:127, 41:159, 51:180, 56:211, 68:250, 69:254, 77:273, 78:276, 79:278, 82:285, 83:297, 83:305, 86:324, 87:331, 90:339, 93:349-50.

4. *Report on Search for Tamil Mss.*, quoted from in *AŚ. YAK. V. B. i.* (Eng. 1-10). The periphrases are also cited at length in these pages.

5. *Skt. Mahēśvara*.

6. See *AŚ. YAK. V. B.*, 32:125, 51:180, 56:211, 69:254, 78: 276, 82:285,

grammatical aphorisms assigned in the *Virutti* on the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam* to the grammarian with the periphrastic name but that he attributes them to Mayēccurar, and that all these circumstances compel us to conclude that the periphrases refer to the grammarian Mayēccurar.¹ For more reasons than one this conclusion too seems to be untenable. The long phrases in which the name of the 'great author' is sought to be conveyed may be periphrases of names other than Mayēccurar. That 'Mayēccurar' appears sometimes as a variant reading for the periphrastic phrases proves no more than that some scribes held that the relevant grammatical verses came from Mayēccurar and not from his periphrastic name-sake. Indeed, the name Mayēccurar is used independently in numerous places in the commentary,² and that name and the periphrases are used side by side,—even cheek by jowl of each other.³ The identity of the 'great author' with the periphrastic name with Mayēccurar is, therefore, highly improbable, and his identity with Iṛaiyaṇār is even more improbable. Iṛaiyaṇār's *Kaḷavu-Iyal* is quoted from at only one place in the *Virutti*, as already pointed out, where neither the author nor his work is mentioned by name; the commentator quotes an aphorism from the *Kaḷavu-Iyal* and adds merely, 'So says also another'. The author of the *Virutti* had such reverence for the 'great author' of the periphrastic name as to refer to him with bated breath and involved circumlocution: he does not even deign to mention Iṛaiyaṇār by name. If he was Mayēccurar or Iṛaiyaṇār and also the 'great author', how does it happen that at the only place where he is cited as an authority he is mentioned very casually and is not referred to under his own name, Mayēccurar or Iṛaiyaṇār, and is not shown the honour of the reverent and periphrastic allusion?

Obviously, Iṛaiyaṇār was a grammarian of repute and was distinct from another grammarian known as Mayēccurar as well

1. See AŚ. *YAK.* V. B. ii. (7-8), and Pandit V. Śadāśiva-Paṇḍā-rattār in his edn. of Āttiraiyar Pēr-Āṣiriyar's *Tol-Kāppiya Poduṇ-Pāyiram*, (1923), pp. (2-3).

2. AŚ. *YAK.* V. B., 3:45, 5:48, 7:50, 10:58, 13:68, 15:71, 16:82, 19:86, 21:92, 26:108, 37:147; 67:247; 72:259; 73:260; 74:262; 75:263; 76:268; 84:308; 86:324,325; 89:334; 91:342; 92:344; 93:346,347; 95:417,418.

3. See AŚ. *YAK.* 83. V. B. 297. quoted from above.
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as from the 'great author' whose identity is lost in the periphrases. Iṛaiyaṇār must have been much earlier than his commentator, Nak-Kīrar, but we cannot yet say how near he was to the Iṛaiyaṇār of the *Kurum-Tohai* nor how far removed he was from the Iṛaiyaṇār of the *Tiru-Valluva-Mālai*.

We may not be greatly mistaken if we assign him to the fourth or the fifth century A. D. To place him perceptibly later would be to bring him too near his commentator.¹

We may now make an attempt to imagine how the legends arose and what amount of truth there might be in them. A treatise on the Grammar of Love,—we are not able to say whether it was a specialist's work or was a part of a comprehensive general Grammar,—might have been current about the fourth or the fifth century A. D.,—possibly, even earlier. Some scholar or patron of letters had the treatise engraved on sheets of copper, following what seems to have been a practice common enough in ancient India,² and, libraries having been attached to temples, the copper plates might have been stowed away in the great temple at Madurai. The copper-plates must have been forgotten for many a long decade and might have been discovered in the days of

1. For an adequate appreciation of the state of Tamil literature for centuries before the tenth, a study of Amida-Śāharaṇār's *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam* and its *Virutti* is indispensable. I hope to publish shortly the results obtained by me.

2. 'Even in this country in which literature was preserved merely in the memory, we have early instances of important works being reduced to writing and engraved on such permanent materials as copper plates and stone. When the great Buddhist Council convened by Kaṇiṣka about the 1st century A. D. completed the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, a commentary on the major works of the Buddhist canon, Kaṇiṣka had it engraved on copper-sheets which he deposited in a stūpa he built for the purpose. A brick discovered in excavations in Burma had imbedded in it two gold plates on which were engraved, in characters resembling the south Indian class of alphabets and attributable to about the 4th or the 5th century A. D., quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. A musical treatise of the days of Mahēndravarmaṇ I (600-25 A. D.) was engraved on a bare rock at Kuḍumiyāmalai. King Bhoja of Dhārā seems to have directed treatises on the various sciences to be engraved on stone, and we have a stone inscription which preserves to us a long psalm in Prakrit which Bhoja claims to have composed. A poet Nārāyaṇa composed a Tamil hymn in the *andādi* form

Neḍu-Māraṇ of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*, when the literary productions of the period of the Academies had practically come to be as limited in extent as now. The king might have commanded his protegee to write a gloss thereon, and, Nak-Kīrar, like a courtier, carried out the commission, introducing into it the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*, which he composed in eulogy of his patron. A century or two later, say, about 900 A. D., Nak-Kīrar came to be considered also an authority on prosody and a prosodic treatise by him was referred to in a treatise on prosody which another grammarian of that period wrote in Tamil verse. Evidently Nak-Kīrar had not thought it necessary to garnish his gloss on Iṟaiyaṇār's treatise with the conventional Preface.¹ One of his remote disciples, perhaps a Nīla-kaṇḍaṇār,—ten generations or more after him, and somewhere about 850 A.D.²—took it on

in praise of Śiva and had it engraved in the upper rock-cut cave at Trichinopoly. At Tiruvennainallūr we have an incomplete inscription which gives us five stanzas of the Tēvaram type. Two cart loads of copper-plates are known to be preserved in the famous temple of Tirumalai and on them are inscribed psalms composed by a member of the Taḷḷapakkam family. We are told also of similar 'copper plates being preserved in the Śrī Śailam temple'. (Extracted from my forthcoming book, *Saivism in South India Mediaeval Period*.)

1. The poem attributed to Iṟaiyaṇār in the *Kurum-Tohai* (No. 2, கௌங்குதேர் வாழ்க்கை.....) is quoted by Nak-Kīrar in his commentary on Iṟaiyaṇār's grammar (I. AP I: B. 54). This is the poem which, according to the *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, was composed by the Lord of Madurai for the benefit of poor Tarumi and was the object of the carping criticism of the Nak-Kīrar whom those *Purāṇams* make out to have been a member of the Tamil Academy as also and the commentator on Iṟaiyaṇār's grammar. In the commentary we find the poem quoted very casually, and not the faintest hint is given that the poem was the handiwork of the very author whose grammatical aphorisms were being expounded. If one can imagine the slightest ground for the romance spun out in the *Purāṇams* the poem would not have been mentioned so casually and so free from all reference to its authorship as we find in the commentary. The only possible explanation is that the Nak-Kīrar of the commentary is totally different from the Nak-Kīrars of the Śāṅgam pieces and that in the days of Nak-Kīrar the commentator the poem had not become associated with the romance set out laboriously in the *Purāṇams*.

2. This being a hypothetical reconstruction I refrain from laying stress on the other hypothesis that the lineage of pupils points to a period later even than Nīla-kaṇḍaṇār.

himself to fill in what he considered a serious gap. He knew that the treatise was known as *Iraiyānār's* and had heard that the glossator was Nak-Kīrar and that the commentary had been written at the instance of a Pāṇḍya king in whose reign it had been discovered. He knew that some poems included in the Śaṅgam collections were assigned to a poet, Nak-Kīrar,—he attached little value to the distinctive tags attached to the names,—and he knew of an *Iraiyānār* who had two poems to his credit. He did not know when they had lived and he must have rigorously suppressed his suspicions that of Nak-Kīrars there was a bewildering multiplicity. What could be more natural than that he should conclude that there had been only one Nak-Kīrar and that he had written not only the gloss on *Iraiyānār's* grammar but also the Śaṅgam pieces? So, he made Nak-Kīrar both poet and grammarian. He asked himself who *Iraiyānār* was. The Grammar on Love had been discovered in the temple of Madurai,—perhaps from beneath the holy seat of the god. A king had commanded a gloss to be written on the grammar. *Iraiyānār* is a word for God. Who would accept a tale that the work had come to be known as *Iraiyānār's* merely because a priest had plied a broom below the pedestal of the image of the deity, and swept out some copper-plates, and a grammarian had clutched at them and gone to ecstasies over the scarcely decipherable scribble? What could be more natural than that the attention which the work had received was due to some extraordinary circumstance? What could that be in the circumstances of the case, except that the God of the temple of Madurai had himself written the Grammar? If God was at such pains, it was because of his abounding grace. What stronger proof could there be of its abundance than that he should seek to dispel the comparative ignorance of even his scholarly devotees? Is it conceivable that God,—*Iraiyānār*,—was only a poet and knew nothing of Grammar and therefore left it to be dealt with by a mere man, though the man bore the name of *Iraiyānār*? So argued the remote disciple, and, according to his lights, he argued cogently and justly. Thus did he construct the tale which to us looks legendary, almost puerile. To him there was nothing in his account which looked out of the ordinary: granted a belief in miracles, his reconstruction of the events is by no means despicable. Traditions were current in his time about the Śaṅgam,—they had been current in even the days of

Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu,— and they were akin in spirit to the story he had imagined for himself about the Grammar of Iṟaiyaṇār. So, he wrote out what he conceived to be the true, though miraculous, story of the Grammar and the Gloss, and added to it a brief resume of the traditions about the Śaṅgams, and, to make of it a good Preface in full accord with the conventions of his days, he added notes on what he considered a decent Preface should deal with. Thus, by sheer dint of close *a priori* reasoning he worked out a story and expose which he thought was worthy of being inserted as a Preface into the commentary of his great and remote master. He made out a list of those through whom he traced his grammatical lineage from Nak-Kīrar,— atleast as far as he could trace the names of the more illustrious and ancient among them,— and he included in the Preface a paragraph on the pedagogical succession. Somewhere about 1000 A. D., Iḷam-Pūraṇar wrote a commentary on the *Ḳaḷavu-Iyal*, modelling it probably on Nak-Kīrar's. By about 1200 A. D., the Preface to the *Ḳaḷavu-Iyal* had come to be considered so integral a part of Nak-Kīrar's commentary that no longer was any distinction drawn between the commentary and the Preface to it, and Pēr-Āśiriyar thought that even the Preface was the handiwork of Nak-Kīrar.

Such would seem to be, in brief outline, the true story of Iṟaiyaṇār's treatise and Nak-Kīrar's gloss on it. This account is by no means a tithe so romantic as the one set out in the Preface to the commentary, but it seems to be much closer to historic truth.

CŌĻA LEGENDS.

Being a detailed notice of some manuscripts.

BY

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Some time ago Mr. P. P. S. Sastri contributed to this Journal¹ 'A Note on the Cōḷavaṁśacaritram'. In this note he gave a brief account of the contents of 'a rare manuscript' in the Tanjore Palace Library called 'The Bṛhadiśvara Māhātmya' or 'The Cōḷavaṁśāvalīcaritram', noticed some discrepancies between the account in his manuscript and current notions relating to Cōḷa history, particularly about the construction of the Bṛhadiśvara temple at Tanjore² and expressed the hope that this manuscript might enable critical students of South Indian History 'to shed more light upon the forgotten pages of the history of Tanjore.' The present article is based on a close examination not only of the manuscript noticed by Mr. Sastri, but of another copy of the same in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras and a Tamil Translation of the work in the Mackenzie Collection.

THE MANUSCRIPTS. PREVIOUS NOTICES :—

The Tanjore MS. I have been enabled to use is a recent copy (dated 10-12-1925) in Devanāgarī characters from the original MS No. B 1849 in that library.³ The other works in

1. Vol. III, Part III, pp. 256 ff.
2. It is well known that unimpeachable evidence from inscriptions makes this great temple a work of the reign of Rājārāja I, and not Rājendra as Mr. P.P.S. Sastri seems to think (p. 260, Vol. iii, *Ante*).
3. See Burnell Class. Index to Sanskrit MSS at Tanjore p. 190 "~~yv~~ Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa. 1849 D. ff. 46. Bṛhadiśvarapurāṇa—A mythical history of the Cōḷa Rājas of Tanjore and the temples they built,

the restored volume containing this copy are *Māyūrasthala-māhātmya* which precedes our MS. and the *Haradattcārya-caritam* which follows it, the pages of each work being separately numbered. The Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains another copy of the same work in MS No. 2160 of the Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts called *Kaliyugarājavarṭtāntam* in the catalogue. The work begins at fol. 43 b and is written in Malayāḷam characters.¹ This manuscript contains only 27 out of thirty chapters and varies slightly from the Tanjore MS. by giving different readings at some points, containing extra stanzas at others and occasionally omitting some stanzas that are found in the other MS. There is also a difference in the division of chapters (*adhyāyas*) from the fifteenth to the twenty-second chapters between the two MSS; this will be indicated more fully when we turn to the contents of the work. Wilson's catalogue of the Mackenzie collection mentions, among Sanskrit Manuscripts of "Charitas or Historical and Traditionary records", a paper manuscript in Devanāgarī character of the 'Cōḷa-Charitra', doubtless another copy of the same work. This manuscript is not traceable at Madras and must have been transmitted² to England in 1823-5. There seems to be no means at present of tracing its whereabouts though one may surmise that it must be somewhere among the Mackenzie Manuscripts in the India Office.

But there is available at Madras the Tamil translation of the same work noticed in detail by Wilson under the title 'Chōḷa Māhātmya' as no (1) under 'Local history and Biography' in the section of his catalogue dealing with Tamil Books. Taylor also notices it in Vol. iii of his catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts p. 295. The manuscript corresponds to Taylor's description of it as 'a thin quarto, on Europe paper, in good order' and contains besides the *Cōḷa Māhātmya*, another short work called '*Cōḷa-dēśa-pūrvīka-caritram*' by Taylor, but described in the original as "*cōḷa-dēśa-pūrvīka carittira viyākkīyānam*" which is really what it is, viz. a disquisition (*vīyākkīyānam*) on the Cōḷa history by one of Col. Mackenzie's agents Vyada Naik (Veda

1. My thanks are due to Paṇḍit V. Krishnamacarya of the Madras MSS library for assistance in comparing the two MSS.

2. Vide Taylor's catalogue of Oriental MSS Vol. i, p. xiii.

nayaka—Taylor) of Tanjore.¹ The Tamil translation of the *Brhadīśvara mātmya* is said to have been undertaken at the instance of Mahārāja Chatrapati Sarfoji Mahārāja Saheb of Tanjore. Although we are informed that a summary has been made in Tamil for the benefit of the world (*lōkōpakāratīaik kurittut-tamīlinālē śurukkamāy-ccēyappattīrukkudu*) what we have is more or less a literal translation and it is of interest to note that the translation closely follows the Tanjore manuscript. It may be mentioned that this Tamil translation is valuable as it gives the exact Tamil equivalents of the geographical names in the Sanskrit original which, without such guidance, cannot always be easily identified. Drutisthala for instance is Tirupandurutti; Ghaṭeśa is Tirukkaḍaiyūr; Trikoṭika is Tirukkōḍikāval; Valmikanagara is Tiruvārūr and so on. Between the dates of Wilson's cataloguing and Taylor's, this manuscript had gone out from the Mackenzie collection and was restored to it by Taylor by a lucky chance.²

Wilson's notice of this Tamil translation endeavours to criticise it in the light of history. What Wilson says of Cōḷa history here is no longer of any value, though his summary of the work is, so far as it goes, quite accurate. Wilson says; 'This work is more of a legendary than a historical character and is intended to record the devotion of various cōḷa princes to Śiva as shewn in the consecration of different liṅgas. Taylor observes; "It is rather on sacred temples and expiation of crimes, than on secular matter, that the work chiefly dwells; and by the word *mātmyam* so much only is intended"; though he adds: "There being matter of historical bearing, causes it to be put here, and not under local Purāṇas."

THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS :—

We may now give in detail the contents of the thirty chapters of the *Brhadīśvara Mātmya* following the divisions in the Tanjore manuscript, indicating the main differences between this and the Madras manuscript (to be referred to henceforth as T and M respectively) and giving a fair idea of the

1. Taylor notices another copy of this discourse of Veda Nāyaka at p. 296 of his catal.

2. Taylor catal. iii, p. 294.

nature and style of the work by transcribing extracts from the original when such extracts are likely to be of interest. This description of the contents of the work may be taken to supplement the summaries of Mr. Wilson and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri mentioned above.

Chh. I & II.—Conversation between Pārvatī and Īśvara about holy places, rivers, mountains etc. in India.

Col : *Iti Śrī Bhaviṣyottara—mahāpurāṇe Bṛhadīśvara-mahimāyām Pārvatī-praśno nāma prathamo (dvitīyo)—'dhyāyaḥ.*

Chapter III. Īśvara's account of the kings of the solar and lunar dynasties who were his devotees. The kings were, to the end of the rule of the Nandas, of Kṣatriya extraction; the Southern dynasties were born of a Śūdra woman by a Brāhmin.

Nandāntāḥ Kṣatriyā jātāḥ śivabhaktakuleṣu ca |
Śūdrāyām Brāhmaṇāj-jātāḥ uttamā iti kīrtitāḥ ||
Cera-vikrama-Pāṇḍyākhyāḥ—Coḷā'bhūvan mahītale.

Their devotion to Śiva and to sacred works (kaiṅkarya) detailed. There is reference to Muñja, Bhoja and Vikrama and the Pāṇḍyas.

Malayadhvajapūrvāste Pāṇḍyāḥ pañcāśatam nṛpāḥ.

The phrases *satrānnapānam pānthānām* and *Kāveryā ubhaya-
yostīre* occur in the chapter. The chapter ends:

Devi Coḷamahīpānām caritram kathayāmi te
Śṛṇuṣva sāvadhānena sarveṣām bhaktidāyakam.

No name for the chapter in the colophon which runs:

*iti śrī bhaviṣyottare mahāpurāṇe Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmye
tṛtīyo'dhyāyaḥ.*

Chapter IV: Building of Śiva shrines, maṇḍapas, roads, tanks, *sōpānas* in rivers etc., by Coḷa kings whose financial administration is summarily described thus:

Vīryārjitam sasyajātam dhanaiścakruś śivālayān
Caturthānśadhanenaiva sainyabhṛtyānapōṣayan
Karam te jagrhur—'bhūpāḥ guḍāśmakasudheṣṭakām.

General praise of Coḷa rule, its care for the *dinānāthāndhā* (h), and its security:

nirdasyurabhavat-panthā āgaṅgāsetumūlataḥ.

Their devotion to Śiva brought success to the Coḷa kings rather than the strength of their forces :

Svalpasainye'pi teṣām tu jayo'bhūt śivabhaktitāḥ

The chapter ends:

Evam vatsarasāhasram kalpādaṁ te mahibhujāḥ
Apālayān coḷabhūmim śivakaiṅkaryatatparāḥ
Teṣāṁ pratyekaśāscitram caritram kathayāmi te
Śṛṇu tvam sāvadhānena śṛṇvatām pāpanāśanam.

The chapter is called—*Coḷakaiṅkaryakaraṇam* in its colophon.

Chapter V: At this stage the narrative becomes a conversation in right *paurāṇic* style between *sūta* and the *munis* in the *Naimiśāranya*. The detailed account of the sixteen Coḷa kings given by the *Sūta* at the request of the *munis* formed part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* that *sūta* heard formerly from *Vyāsa*.

Kulottuṅga was originally an agriculturist (*kṛṣikarmakara*) of Kharvaṭa grāma who, with his wife Komaḷāmbā, used to honour Śaiva devotees. One night Śiva himself became their guest, and pleased by their hospitality he said:

Paṭabandham kariṣyāmi tava coḷabhuvodya te
Āṣoḍaśānvayam rājyam tava dattam na samśayaḥ.

And he then summoned Kubera to appear before him.

No name for the chapter in the colophon.

Chapter VI: Speech of Īśvara to Kubera directing him to make Kulottuṅga king and to give him an unlimited amount of treasure. When accordingly Kulottuṅga is enthroned and crowned by Kubera, Śiva appears with his *gaṇas*, gives *darśana* and after listening to a *stuti* by Kulottuṅga, he appoints Viśvakarmā in human form together with other artisans and Kubera to assist Kulottuṅga in his work of raising Śiva shrines on the banks of the Kāverī.

Col: *Iti Bhaviṣyōttare mahāpurāṇe Kulottuṅgacoḷacarite (to?) ṣaṣṭho'dyāyaḥ.*

Chapter VII: Kulottuṅga's rule for ninety years (*navati varṣāṇi*): Erection of temples including one at Tanjore where:

Kuberāya prasanno'bhūt yatra tañjapureśvaraḥ
Yatrānandamahāvallī devī tañjāsuram raṇe
Nidhāyāṣṭamahāśaktiḥ aṣṭadikṣvapi tatra vai
Ekavirā jayanti ca mardinī mahiṣārdinī
Māricareṇukā kālī koṭī ca paritas sthitā
Sūlena pātayamāsa¹ tañjam tannāmataḥ puram

1. M has *pālayāmāsa*. Wilson's Tuṅgeśvara and Tuṅgapur are clearly mistakes.

These temples were built with treasure dug out of his own garden (*svagrhe grhaniṣkuṭam*). Ultimately Kulottuṅga made his son Devacoḷa king and *patnyā prāpa śivāntikam*.

Col : gives the name *Kulottuṅgacarite* (to?).

Chapter VIII: Devacoḷa married Saundaryavallī of the Kāmika-vaṁśa, built more shrines and was followed at the end of the sixty years by his son Śaśīśekhara who married Campakavallikā and built many shrines (names given) including some to Viṣṇu. His daughter Guṇavallī was married to a Pāṇḍya king (not named). He encouraged Śaiva āgamas in particular :

Śivadviṣṇu—mahīprṣṭhe sthāpayāmāsa śūlināḥ

Pūjārtham Devadevasya śivāgamaviśārādān.

He also became *Kāverī-pāra-dṛk-Coḷaḥ*. It happened in this wise. Once in his reign there was a great flood in the Kāverī which worked such havoc that his subjects threatened to leave the country and migrate elsewhere. The king then went to Nadīpura¹ and propitiated Śiva for a *maṇḍala* by means of fasting and worship; at the end of the period he heard a voice from heaven which assured him that Kāverī would behave better in the future and asked him to make a dam between the two Kāverīs :²

Kāveryorubhayormadhye setum kuru mahīpate.

Then the king built a temple to Nandīpureśa, and his enterprise was blessed by Kāverī herself in a dream where—upon the king made a dam in front of Śrīraṅgam.

Pañcalohaistadā setum cakre śrī-raṅgapūrvataḥ.

After seventy years (of rule ? *labdhvā varṣāṇi sapṭati*) the king reached *kailāsa* with his queen after installing his son Śivaliṅga on the throne.

Col: *Devacoḷa-śaśi-śekhara-coḷa-carite*.

Chapter IX: Śivaliṅga married Padmavallī and built 119 temples.³ He went once to Valmīkanagara (Tiruvārūr) to worship Tyāgarāja and lived there some time. His son Viracoḷa

1. The Tamil translation only repeats this name.

2. Here the Tamil translation, though not supported by the present text, is more explicit: காவேரிக்கும் கொல்லடத்துக்கும் நடுவிலே அணை கட்டி சோழ தேசம் எவ்வளவு செலம் வந்தால் விளையுமோ அவ்வளவு போக குறை கொல்லடத்திலே விடுகிறப்போல ஒரு அணை கட்டு (fol. 6, a).

3. *Satamekōṇavimśati*: Tam. Tr. has 101.

happened to run his chariot over a calf and cause its death; he was himself condemned by the king to a similar death; and by a miracle both were restored to life. Even now one can see in Śrīpura¹ "the representation of the incident in stone, made by order of the king. Then, Vīra-Coḷa succeeded to the throne and his parents went to Śiva (died) at 67 years. (after 67 years' rule ?)

Vīra-Coḷa married Hemavallī, built more temples, made the Vīra-Cōlamukha of the Kāverī and died after a reign of 27 years.

Col: Śivaliṅga-coḷavīracolacarite.

• Chapter X: Vīra-Coḷa's son Karikāla married Kāñcanāṅgikā. His guru was the Brāhmin Haradatta, (called Kañjanūr Ālvār in the Tamil translation), who directed the construction of temples in his reign. The king had an attack of black leprosy (*kṛṣṇa kuṣṭha*) and became miserable on account of it. He appealed to his guru for assistance and the latter worshipped Agnīśvara for a *maṇḍala* with the aid of Śaiva Brāhmaṇas:

Śivadvijakulodbhūtaiḥ Śivāgamaviśāradaih.

Col: Haradattācāryaprārthanam.

Chapter XI: Haradatta at the end of the *maṇḍala*, while sleeping on the threshold of the Śivālaya dreamt a dream in which Īśvara informed him that the king was suffering on account of injuries he had inflicted on animals as a hunter in a former birth and that he would be cured if he built a temple with a tall *gopura* and suitably enshrined in it a mysterious liṅga which was to be brought from the Narmadā and which would increase in size after it was taken out of the water and thus earn for itself the name Bṛhadīśvara. A temple to the goddess Bṛhan-nāyikā was also to be made; and a big Nandī carved from a monolith was to be installed before Īśvara. To leave nothing uncertain the Lord even chose the architect to be employed:

Viśvakarmānvayodbhūtaḥ somavarmākhyāśilpirāt

Kāñcyāmekāmrānāthasya mahāgopurakṛtsadā

Pūjitāścerabhūpena.

On his completing these works the king would become free from his *sarvāṅgakuṣṭha*.

1. Another name for Tiruvārūr? The Tamil Translation does not help here. But there is a monument in the Tiruvārūr temple which answers to the description in the text.

Col: *Haradattasvapnakathanam.*

Chapter XII: Haradatta returns to the CoĻa court and is given a grand reception before he narrates the substance of his dream to the king. The king consents to carry out the Lord's instructions.

Col: No name for the chapter.

Chapter XIII: Invitation to *śilpi* Somavarmā; reception accorded to him; his worship of Kālī—*Śilpinām kuladaivatam*: her good-will towards the enterprise assured.

Col: No name for the chapter.

Chapter XIV: Somavarmā commences work on the large *gōpura*; the king leaves with 64 merchants for the Narmadā and brings the *liṅga* in six months.

Col: *Bṛhadīśvaraliṅgānayanam* (not in M).

Chapter XV: Construction of the temple for twelve years; the son of Somavarmā, aged twelve, learns from his mother about the task on which his father has been engaged and goes up to Tanjore. What followed is more intelligible in the account of M than in that of T as will be seen from the following extract in which portions not found in T are enclosed¹ in square brackets []—

Śilpaiḥ śilpakṛtam karma dṛṣṭvā tam mānakāṣṭhataḥ
Gaṇayāmāsa tatpīṭham gopuroddhārasamsthitam
Tatraivālokaḥ (?) rājñāḥ sacivam bāla ūcivān
Bālaśilpiḥ (*sic*)—etatpīṭhapramāṇena yadi syāt gōpuram
(kṛtam

Mahāvātaiṛvṛṣṭibhiṣca paṭiṣyati muhurmuḥuḥ
Śilpena kēnakārīdam manye nāsau vicakṣaṇaḥ
Iti bāloditam śrutvā rājñe'mātyo'vadadrahaḥ
Rājā tam bālamānīya kastvam kena pathāgataḥ
Kimpramāṇena vai bhūyāt baddham syāt gopuram
(dṛḍham

Ityūce bālaśilpam tam so'pyuvāca mahīpatim
Bāla-śilpiḥ (*sic*)—pīṭhikāntarato mānam kṛtam syāt
(sudṛaḍham bhavet

Evam samvadatostatra bālapārthivayormudā
Śilpāśśāsaṁsire sarvam vṛtlāntam somavarmaṇe
Somavarmāpi tat śrutvā bhokṣyabhojyam² viṣāplutam

1. The Tamil Translation follows T here as usual.

2. This is not in the Tam. Trans.

Kārayāṃśa tatbhōjye śīghramānayateti tam
 Ko'yam kasmātsamāyātaḥ śilpānūcurmuhurmuhuḥ
 Rājadvāri sthitāḥ śilpāḥ nirgatam bālaśilpinam
 Samāninystadā kṣipram nikaṭam somavarmanāḥ
 Somavarmāpi tam dṛṣṭvā bālam ujvalapouruṣam
 Ṭaṅkahastam śilpaguṇakāṣṭhavetradharam sadā
 Antaḥ pracchannakopena dahyamāno'vadat tadā
 Somavarmā—ko vā tvam kuta āyātaḥ bhuṅkṣva śrān-
 (to'si nandana
 Ityuktam tadvacāśrutvā prāha bālaḥ kṛtānjaliḥ
 Bālaśilpiḥ (*sic*)—[Kāñcīpurāt samāyātaḥ mātṛāham vai
 (niyojitaḥ

Tvatpitā coḷabhūpena mahāgopurabandhane
 Niyōjita iti śrutvā ahamatra samāgataḥ
 Tacchrutvāśrunayanāḥ utthāyāliṅgya tam sutam
 Abhyajya gandhatailena bhāryayā preṣitam sutam
 Bhojayāmāsa divyānnaiḥ vastrairābhūṣya tattanum
 Svānke tam upaveśyaiva karma me kiḍṛsam vada
 Tadā śrutvā piturvākyam avadat prāñjaliḥ sutaḥ]
 Nātisamyakkṛtam tāta Rājñāḥ kośo vyayīkṛtaḥ
 Evam kṛtam cēduttuṅgam gōpuram na sthiram bhavet.

Somavarmā then acknowledged the superior knowledge of his son and gave him control of the work. As the construction of the gopuram was nearing completion, they were on the look out for a monolith for closing the *brahmarandhra* below the *śikhara* :¹ at that moment an old woman who had been feeding some workmen for some years implored them to use a stone (*śilākhaṇḍa*) belonging to her in the construction of the temple and it happened that this stone was found quite suitable for the purpose on hand and accordingly it was used for closing the *Brahmarandhra*. Soon after, Bṛhadīśvara was duly enshrined in the temple and minor shrines erected round about. In the end the architect was rewarded by the grant of the village *Ṣoḷapuram* and by other honours done to him.

1. This motive for using the stone of the old woman is mentioned only in the Tamil Tr. and is not found in either of the Sanskrit MSS. The Tamil is :

“கோபுரத்துக்கு மேல்சிகரங்கட்டுகைக்கு கீழே பிரமரந்தி வெளி முடி
 கிறகல்லு ஒருகல்லா யிருக்கவேண்டுமென்று யோசனை. பண்ணிக்கொண்டி
 ருக்கச்செ ஒரு கிள(ழ)வி etc.”

Col : No name for the chapter.

It may be convenient at this point to explain the difference in the division of chapters between T and M, to which reference has already been made. M ends Ch. XV at the point where Somavarmā gives control of the work to his son and begins a fresh chapter with the story of the old woman and the stone slab, which, again, is numbered at the end as the seventeenth chapter and not the sixteenth as it ought to be. This and the other differences may be seen clearly in the following :

	T	M
Ch	15	15 and 17 (there being no 16).
"	16	18
"	17	19
"	18	} 20 (omitting many verses of 19 T.)
"	19	
"	20	} 21
"	21	
"	22	22—numbering begins to be same again

from this chapter. A few verses at the beginning of Chapters 19 and 21 of T are omitted by M. To resume our summary of the work following the numbering of chapters in T.

Chapter XVI : Description of the Kumbhābhiṣeka of the new temple ; grant of ten villages Śūlamaṅgalam and others by copper plate charters ; establishment of naṭa, nartaka, veśyā and other servants. Gift of 1000 cows for *pañcāmṛtābhiṣeka*.

Col : *Bṛhadīśvarakumbhābhiṣeka*.

Chapter XVII : Caitra festival in the temple :

Caitrotsavam tadā cakre ekādaśyām rathotsavam

Dvādaśyām uttare tīrtham śivamāniya dattavān

* * * * *

Dvādaśyām śivagaṅgāyām dadau tīrtham maheśvaraḥ.

On this occasion Karikāla bathed in the tank also and then :

Sarvāṅgakuṣṭha-nirmuktaḥ Rājā Soma ivābabhau.

Gaṅgā appeared and discoursed on the merits of bathing in the Śivagaṅgā on particular days. The king sang a hymn to his God, the Bṛhadīśāṣṭaka¹ as it called. He then made many *dānas* to Brāhmaṇas and went back to his palace. In his sleep

1. Reproduced in the Appendix.

that night, Br̥hadiśvara and Br̥hannāyikā appeared to him in a dream and informed him that they were quite comfortable on account of the food given by him and the shade ensured by the old woman :

Tvanniveditabhojyena jaratīdattachāyayā.

The next morning the king instituted an enquiry and ascertained the truth about the old woman's stone. Thereupon he became anxious to secure for himself the entire merit for the erection of the temple and appealed to the Lord to point to him a way of securing his object; the God suggested to the king that he might flatter the old woman and please her by gifts of treasure and persuade her to transfer her merit to him, which he did, by constructing the Airāvateśvara shrine in accordance with the old woman's wishes with the money (*lakṣaṭaṅkam*) he had made over to her. Karikāla then attained Kailāsa after 90 years of rule (*navati varṣāṇi*) leaving the kingdom to his son Bhīma Coḷa. His fame, we are assured, is attested by inscriptions on the walls of the Br̥hadiśvara temple :—

Tasyānuvarṇanaślokāḥ tatprākāre vilekhitāḥ.

Col : Karikālasya śivasārūpyabhājanam

nāma in T and Karikālagopura nirmāṇam nāma in M.

Chapter XVIII. Bhīma married a Keraḷa princess Vidyullatā. General praise of his rule and special mention of abundant food for travellers on roads in choultries :

Annasatrāṇi bhūrīṇi pāṇthebhyo mṛṣṭamodanam.

The king enforced Śaivism :

Rudrākṣadhāranam

Kurudhvam pūjyātām śambhuḥ Bhīmasyājñeyamīdrśi

No cedbhīma-coḷasya sadyo daṇḍaḥ paṭiṣyati.

Erection of fresh temples, sopānas etc. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appeared to the queen in a dream, mentioned a spot where she should worship him as a liṅga, and promised her a son Rājendra. This promise was fulfilled in due course and Rājendra married Kamalinī the daughter of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya. Bhīma's rule lasted seventy-seven years (*saptasaptati varṣāṇi*).

Col : Bhīmacoḷacarite.

Chapter XIX. Rājendra conquered many of his neighbours and levied tribute from them and constructed new Śiva temples. King Pratāparudra was refractory and lost an eye in consequence :

Pratāparudram phālākṣam dr̥ṣṭvā tam śāsanāṭigam
 Matprabhōssadr̥śākṣiḥ syāt katham vai mānuṣo'pyayam
 Śivabhaktibalenaiva tam ca citrapaṭasthitam
 Tatphālākṣi harat rājā akṣihīnō'bhavacca saḥ
 Pratāparudrō naṣṭākṣiḥ karam cōlāya cā-harat.

Rājendra's son was Vīramārtāṇḍa. After seventy eight years (*aṣṭasaptati varṣānte*)¹ Rājendra attained Kailāsa with his wife.

Col: *Rājendracōḷacaritakathanam.*

Chapter XX: Vīramārtāṇḍa married the Cēra princess Māṇikkavallikā. General praise of his rule. Erection of shrines to Śiva and even to Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavānyapi*) as e. g., *śūrṅgaṇi* and *cakrapāṇi* temples at Kumbhakoṇam. One day the king asked the Brahman Devaśarmā to narrate the story of Koṅkaṇa-siddha, a pupil of Dattātreyā, who, after devotions to Śiva and the installation of a new liṅga Koṅkaṇeśvara, attained bliss.

Col: *Koṅkeśvaramāhātmye vīramārtāṇḍacōḷacarite.*

Chapter XXI: Devaśarmā offered to tell another story and the king listened. It was the story of a *Vaṇikkanyā* of Tanjore who was devoted to the Lord, refused to marry any one except Him, and was married overnight by Koṅkaṇeśvara (like the Pāṇḍyan princess in olden days).

Babandha tatkaṇṭhadeśe sūtramaṅgalam īśvaraḥ.

Next morning her relatives missed her at home and found her in the temple. When they sought to take her back a voice stopped them. She is still seen to be there in stone. The temple was renovated by the king after he heard the story. In the end, after sixty-six years (*ṣaṭṣaṣṭivarṣāni*) Kīrticōḷa was made king by his father who attained bliss with his queen.

Col: same as at end of XX.

Chapter XXII: Kīrtivardhana married Kamalinī daughter of Sūryaśekhara Pāṇḍya. Construction of temples. Worship of Skanda for child; Skanda's demand (in dream) for a temple of his near Tanjore being renovated by the king, which he does.

Col: *Kārtikēyastavānuvarṇanam.*

Chapter XXIII: Guha's boon. Erection of further temples. Birth of Jayacōḷa who married Kāñcanamālā daughter of Kēralesā. Laying out of the stream Kīrtimatī for *sasyavṛddhi*.

1. எழுபத்தெட்டாம் வயதிலே. (Tam. Tr.)

Period of Kīrticōḷa's rule was seventy-seven years. (*saptasaptati varṣānte*).¹ Jayacōḷa erected, besides many new temples, a new city Jayacōḷapura:

Gaṅguhram (Gaṅgōrṇam—M.) nāma nagaram Jayacōḷa-
puram nṛpaḥ
Bṛhadiśvaradhāmnō'sya pādonam dhāma cātanot.

The king also set the *naplā* of Sōmavarmā and his equal in skill to construct the Śrīmuṣṇam, Vṛddhācalam, Kāḷahasti and other temples. In the sixtieth year (*ṣaṣṭhihāyane*) he got a son Kanakacōḷa whom he installed as king and died.

Col: Kārtikeyākhyāne kīrticōḷajayacōḷacarite.

Chapter XXIV: Kanakacōḷa married Campakāṅgī of the Vikrama family. *Bhasmarudrākṣa* worn by the *Aśvagajavīras* of his army was the cause of his victories. *Jainas*, *Mlecchas* and *Saṅkaras* were compelled by him to wear *tripuṇḍra*. In his reign, the Kāvērī disappeared in a *bila* (hole) in Dakṣiṇāvartaka² and this caused great misery; the only way of getting her out again was for the king or a *tapasvin* to cast himself in the *bila* and die. The king prepared to do so, but he was stopped by an old minister of his who suggested his going to *Herandamuni* who was performing *tapas* to the north of Kumbhakoṇam; the king accordingly went to him and saluted the *muni* who blessed him with a long life, and then lest his benediction should prove false, he threw himself into the *bila* to induce the river to resume its normal course. Then at the end of seventy (*saptati*) years, Kanakacōḷa's son Sundaracōḷa was made king.

Col: Kanakacōḷacarita.

Chapter XXV: The chapter opens with the *munis'* questioning the *sūta* (See Ante Ch. V) as to how the *ajñānajanita-brahmahatyā* of the Cōḷa king was expiated by him. The *sūta's* answer opens with the mention of Sundaracōḷa's accession. Sundara married Citravallī a Cēra princess. He wore the *makuta* which was given of old to Kulōttuṅga.

1. Mr. P. P. S. Sastri mentions the laying out of the Kīrtimati in Ch. XXII. He gives forty-nine years to Kīrti's rule perhaps because T reads *saptasapta ca varṣānte* where M has *ti* for *ca*. There appears to be no support for his statement that Jayacōḷa carried out improvements in the Bṛhadiśvara temple.

2. திருவலஞ்சுழி என்ற சிவஸ்தலத்திலே. (Tam. Tr.)

Kulōttuṅgākhyacōḷāya yaddattam śambhunā purā

Cōḷēndrabirudādhāram hēmapaṭṭam nṛpaidhṛtam.

He gave his daughter *Utpalāvatī* in marriage to the Pāṇḍya.¹ He got a son Kālakāla who built Śiva shrines and married Guṇavatī a Kēraḷa princess.

One day a Brahman came to the king's palace and desired to leave in the king's care his *enceinte* wife till he returned after a visit to Rāmēśvaram. This charge was accepted by the king.² The Brāhmaṇa returned after a year, and, in order to test his wife's fidelity, he took her by the arm in the dark; she set up a wail and as a result, the man was struck down on the spot by the king. The wife committed *sati* when she saw what had happened.

Col: *Sundaracōḷāya Brāhmahatyāgamanō nāma.*

Chapter XXVI: Once more the *munis* question the *sūta* about the king's expiation and the *sūta* begins his answer by describing the evil consequences of the king's sin and the country's suffering. Dogged by the gruesome shade of the *Brāhmahatyā*, the king dragged on a miserable existence for a period of twelve years, during which he made many *dānas* and built many temples, hoping thereby to exorcise the evil spirit. At the end of the period the Brahmin couple appeared to him in a dream.

Col: *Sundaracōḷacarite.*

Chapter XXVII: They said to him that a little of his sin was still left and that he would be redeemed after he worshipped at a hundred shrines more on the banks of the Kāvērī. This the king undertook to do with his wife after leaving his son in charge of the kingdom. When he reached the temple at the Madhyārjuna, the *hatyā* was fixed in front of the Eastern Gōpura (Prāk gōpura) where it is still to be seen:

Jānunyasta-sva-mastā sā dṛśyatē'dyāpi bāhyataḥ

And the king's release from the *hatyā* was announced to him inside the temple by a *vāṇī* which also directed him to renovate the temple.³ The king's tremor does not leave him,

1. 'சந்தரபாண்டிய ராஜாவுக்கு'. (Tam. Tr).

2. Cetigaṇa here is rendered by வெள்ளாட்டிகள் in the Tam. Tr. (39 b).

3. M. breaks off here in the midst of the king's *śloṭra* of Madhyārjunēśa and gives only the closing stanzas at end of T 29 with some changes,

however, till he reaches Tribhuvana; the god of Tribhuvana was thenceforth known as Kampaharēśvara and the king built for him a temple and Gōpura on the model of the Tanjore temple, three fourths of it in size, employing the architects of the family of Sōmavarmā. In the sixtieth year (*hāyane śaṣṭatamē*) he left his kingdom to his son Kālakāla and joined the *Sivagaṇas* with his wife.

Col: *Sundaracōḷāya Madhyārjunē brahmahatyāpagamō nāma.*

Chapter XXVIII: Kālakāla (as has been mentioned already) married Guṇavatī. The king's devotion to Śiva was tested in a strange manner. A young *arcaka* the son of a destitute widow, performed the daily *pūjā* to Tālavaneśa. At the time of the *pūjā*, the tall liṅga used to stoop and bend its head to bring it within the reach of the boy for the *abhiṣeka* and *pūjā* and to eat part of the food offered by the boy. The daily disappearance of part of the food made trouble between the boy and his mother who, desirous of verifying the truth of the boy's story, one day came to the temple at the time of the *pūjā*; and when, peeping thorough a hole in the wall, she saw what actually happened within, she bawled out to the god and implored him not to comply with the foolish request of the boy and thereby deprive her of her food for the day. At this, the God stopped eating and disappeared from view and the liṅga continued to retain the bent posture. All attempts to put it straight were of no avail and at last, a *vāṇī* exhorted the king saying:

Tvayā kaṇṭhena karṣatā

Karavālam gale dhr̥tvā cchinnakaṇṭho'si cennṛpa

Tadā tālavaneśasya liṅgamūrdhvam bhaviṣyati.

The king did so but, before his head fell from the body, he was saved by divine intercession and the liṅga became straight again. At the end of seventy years (*saptatervarṣasamāntyame dine*)¹ the king left the kingdom to his son Kalyāṇacōḷa and retired to Kailās.

Col: *Kālakālacōḷakailāśagamanam.*

Chapter XXIX: Kalyāṇacōḷa married a Pāṇḍyan princess, a namesake of his (*svanāmnīm*). He completed the renovation

1. எழுபதாம் வயதிலே (Tām. Tr.). Wilson's reference to Bhaktitūṣṭeśvara is not borne out by any of the MSS noticed here.

of Tālavana¹ ordered by his father. Once in this king's reign the Cēra, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Vikrama kings went to Puṇḍarīka-pura (Cidambaram)—for Ārdrā; and there they undertook the construction of four *gōpuras* with the understanding that whoever finished his *gōpura* earliest should be recognised as being superior to the rest. The Eastern *gōpura* was taken up by the Cēra, the Western by the Pāṇḍya, and the Northern by the Vikrama, while the Cōḷa had to do the Southern *gōpura*. The Lord appeared to the Cōḷa in a dream and promised him the early completion not only of the Southern *gōpura* but of a *maṇḍapa* with a thousand pillars to the west of the Śivagaṇḡā; the king was also reminded in the dream of his ancestor Karikāla's construction of the Tanjore temple and of Sōmavarmā's part therein. Accordingly he employed Sauravarmā, descendant of Sōmavarmā on the work and came out first in the competition. His rule lasted for sixty-seven years (*saptasaṣṭi*).

Kalyāṇacōḷa was followed by his son Bhadra who married Subhadra. He built more temples. He had no son and when he prayed for one, he got the quaint answer from the Lord that His task on earth on which the Cōḷas had been engaged was over, that Śaivism had made enough progress and that He did not want any longer to send down members of his *gaṇas* as Cōḷa kings. When the king protested: '*loko nāputrasya vai prabho*', promptly came the answer: "*karmathānām sa paddhatir nāsti bhaktake*"; and this also was said by the Lord as to the future:

Bhavatām puṇyaśilānām kalau māstu ca santatiḥ
Itaḥ param vai Yavanāḥ Āndhrāśśūdrāśca Drāviḍāḥ
Bhaviṣyanti mahīprṣṭhe nṛpāścōḷe ca Pāṇḍyake
* * * * ātankam tyaja vai nṛpa.

So consoled, the king devoted himself to religious charities for the rest of his life and died at the end of seventy years (*saptati*).

There follows a summary account of all the sixteen kings dealt with in detail before; then a list of the chief shrines and the *phalaśruti*.

Col: Bhaviṣyottare mahāpurāṇe kṣetrakhaṇḍe Bhadracōḷa
śoḍaśaccācaritakathanam nūma ekonatrimś'dhyāyaḥ.

1. திருப்பனந்தாள் (Tam. Tr. 46b).

Chapter XXX: The *Sūta* offers to tell the munis the *Jambūdvīpamāhātmya*. They ask for it with special reference to *Śivakṣetras* to the south of the *Kāvērī*. The *Sūta* gives the account as a conversation between *Pārvatī* and *Śiva* in *Kailāsa*. *Śiva* says that between the *Kāvērī* and *Sētū* (*Kāvērīsetumadhyage*) there are 23,000 shrines (*trayaviṃśatisāhasram*) devoted to him; 1,000 to *Viṣṇu*; 6,000 to *Subrahmaṇya*; 5,000 to *Vināyaka*; 1,000 to *Kālī*; 100 to *Tāṇḍaveśa*; 3,000 to *Durgā*; 11,000 to *Śāstā* (*Aiyanār* as the Tamil translation has it) and gives the names of the main shrines at which he is worshipped.

Col: *Iti śrī Bhaviṣyottare mahāpurāṇe Jambūdvīpodbhavadakṣiṇakāṇḍe umāmahēśvara-saṁvāde colakhaṇḍavarṇanam nāma trīṁśo'dhyāyaḥ.*

The nature of the work: This elaborate summary of this work together with the numerous quotations from the original has been given with a view to enable readers to form a correct judgement of the nature of the work under notice. Both *Wilson* and *Taylor* rightly stressed its legendary character. *Taylor* made no attempt at criticism; but, as we have seen, he thought there was some historical matter in the book and therefore classed it as a historical manuscript. *Wilson's* attempt to criticise and reconcile these wild legends with such knowledge as there was of *Cōla* history in his time makes rather amusing reading now. It may, however, be noticed that a certain *Veda Naick* of *Tanjore*, [one of the agents employed by *Mackenzie* for the collection of his MSS. and described by *Wilson* as 'a native Christian in his (*Mackenzie's*) employ'], noticed the difficulties of reconciling these legends with known facts; and writing in 1810 A. D.,¹ he said that the *Cōla* temples could not be, any of them, older than a thousand years at the time—a remarkably correct guess—and drew *Mackenzie's* attention to the absurdities and contradictions in the legends gathered and transmitted by him from up-country.

In passing, I may say that the Tamil translation of the *Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmya* said to have been made at the instance of *Māhārāja Sarfoji* of *Tanjore* appears, in reality, to have been the

¹ fol. 8b of *Cōla-deśa-pūrvika-caritra*—*Wilson* No. 3 Tamil Books—local history and Biography; and *Taylor* iii, p. 295, VI, 1. No. 344 section 2.

work of Veda Naick himself or some employee or collaborator of his. There is much resemblance between the language of this translation and that of the essay (*Viyākkīyānam*) of Veda Naick. It is a kind of mongrel Tamil such as Indian Christians may be heard using in daily conversation to-day. The free use in the translation of words like *karttar*, known to Tamil only in Christian Tamil literature, makes it almost impossible for us to believe that this work was undertaken by a scholar of the court of Sarfoji and at his instance. Now, this is a matter of some importance in relation to the authenticity of the historical manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection. This Tamil manuscript appears to me to strengthen a suspicion which naturally arises as to whether Mackenzie's methods of collecting information did not give his agents many opportunities of taking advantage of his ardent curiosity about the antiquities of the country and palming off on him much material that was of no real value or interest to his purposes.¹ It is not possible here to go further into this question.

Turning to the Sanskrit original of the *māhātmya*, very little effort is needed to show that it is a late production that falls in the group of local *māhātmyas* or *sthalapurāṇas* (as was pointed out by Taylor) which, while they do not lack a certain interest for the student of legends and folk lore, are totally devoid of interest for the scientific historian. Several *māhātmyas* giving the legendary history of other temples in the Tanjore district have been noticed by Hultsch in his Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts.² And the *Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmya*, as its name implies, is a similar collection of local legends centring round the celebrated temple of Tanjore. The other title of the work, *Cōlavamśacaritra*, only implies that the author of the *purāṇa* has taken account of the fact that Tanjore was known to have been, for some centuries, the capital of the Cōla Empire in its palmiest days. There is, however, little reason to doubt that when this *purāṇa* was written, nothing was remembered of the true history of the Tanjore Cōlas and some conventional list was made up to provide a framework for the legends to fit into. Similar lists were provided for the other principal dynasties of the South India. Thus the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* speaks of the 12 Cēras,

1. See e. g. Godwell-Report on Madras Records.

2. See e. g. No. II, p. v ; No. III, p. v.

10 Vikramas and 22 Pāṇdyas besides the Cōḷas.¹ That these lists were not always the same for the same dynasty and underwent many revisions is evident from the presence of several lists more or less differing from one another but professing to relate the history of the same dynasty.² Mackenzie's correspondent in Tanjore, Veda Naick, also observed that there were wide differences of opinion among learned men in his day as to the number of kings in the Cōḷa family and the period of their rule. The list of sixteen kings we have in this work seems to have been the standard list as the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* confirms it and as it appears to have furnished the basis of a *Cōḷacampū* by Virūpākṣa.³

That this work is of no use whatever for purposes of history is evident on the face of it. Even if we neglect the supernatural elements in the narrative, it is impossible to make history out of 16 generations of kings whose succession was in every case from father to son, and who ruled altogether over a period of nearly eleven centuries. Excepting the names of Kulōttuṅga, Vira, Karikāla, Rājendra and Sundara and that of Haradatta all the other names are unknown to history and barefaced invention. The vague references to Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya contemporaries who had relations of inter-marriage with the Cōḷas are not more historical; much less the monotonous and common place names of the princesses mentioned as queens of the Cōḷa kings. If we consider the legends themselves in the light of other legends of a similar nature it becomes clear that we have in the *Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmya* a late and very confused redaction of well-known stories torn out of their traditional setting and applied in a haphazard manner to imaginary kings.

The story of the obscure origin of Kulōttuṅga, the first Cōḷa in this account, is unknown to genuine Cōḷa tradition incorporated in contemporary copper plate charters and stone inscriptions⁴ which trace the descent of the Cōḷas from an eponymous

1. Des. Cat. Sansk. MSS. No. 2160 fol. 26 ff. About Vikramas we read: Vindhyāddakṣīnataḥ Kāñcyāḥ Vijayāpūramadhyame: Vikramāḥ daśasamkhyātaḥ bhavanti prthivībhujaḥ.

2. See my Pāṇḍyan kingdom, p. 3, for the Pāṇḍyan lists.

3. Hultzach Report. No. III, p. v, and pp. 122-123.

4. The Anbil, Leyden and Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription of Virarājendra. Ep. Ind. XV; A. S. S. I. IV; S. I. I. III and Trav. Arch. Series III.

ancestor Cōla, himself a decendant of the Solar line of kings, and according to which Kulōttuṅga came several generations after the foundation of the historical Cōla dynasty of Vijayālaya. The inscriptions ascribe the raising of the floodbanks of the Kāvērī to Karikāla; our book retains the memory of the main achievement in the phrase *Kāvērī-pāradṛk-coḷa* (Ch. VIII) but twists it into the construction of a metallic dam and ascribes it to a Śaśīśekhara. Again, the story of a calf being crushed under the chariot wheels of a Cōla prince who suffered the extreme penalty at the hands of his father Manu is narrated in many of the Tamil classics;¹ here Manu's place is taken by Śivaliṅga. The long narration (Chapters X-XVII) of Karikāla's leprosy, the exertions of Haradatta and the construction of the Bṛhadiśvara temple which apparently forms the central theme of the *purāṇa* and gives it one of the two names by which it is known,—this legend is not only unsupported by any other account known to us, but is given the lie direct by the very inscriptions on the walls of the temple which are cited in his support by the ignorant versifier who indited the *māhātmya*.² The three-eyed king of the Telugu country who suffered the loss of his third eye at the hands of a Cōla was Pallava Triṇetra and not Pratāparudra and the Cōla king ruling at the time was Karikāla, not Rājendra as our *Purāṇa* has it.³ The foundation of Jayacōlapura (Ch. XXIII) as narrated in this *purāṇa* is a euphemeristic attempt to explain the origin of Jayaṅkoṇḍacōlapuram, founded by Rājendra I, and the name Jayacōla is obviously drawn from the name of the city to give a setting to the story. Lastly, the sin of *brahmahatyā* incurred and expiated by Sundara Cōla is an old motif in South Indian legends centring round Madhyārjuna (Tiruvīḍaimarudūr). So far as I am able to trace at present, the oldest version of this motif is in the story of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya as narrated in the Tiru-

1. See Śilappadikāram, Maṇimēkalai, Periyapurāṇam, Kalingattupparaṇi. The Cōla Pūrya Paṭṭayam ascribes the same story to Karikāla—Wilson, Mack. MSS. (Cal. 1882) p. 201; a Kanarese Ms. to Satyendracōla *ibid* p. 324. The Mahāvamśa attributes it to the Tamil King of Ceylon Elara.

2. It is a pity that Mr. S. S. Sūryanarayana Sastri should have relied on Haradatta's connection with the construction of the Tanjore temple for suggesting a tentative date for Haradatta. See his Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha p. 71.

3. See Kalingattuppurāṇi and Trav. Arch. Ser. iii, 106 and nn. IV—44

vilaiyāḍal of Perumbarrappuliyūr-nambi,¹ a work of the 9th or 10th century A. D. Here the death of the Brāhmin is caused by his being trampled under the hoofs of the royal steed while the king was returning from a hunting party. But even in this work an alternative form of the story is hinted at and we are informed that there are others who explain the origin of the *Brahmahatyā* as follows : a Brāhmin was trying to help his wife who, to escape the misery due to the loss of her child, had cast herself into a well; the king mistook the man's act and did him to death.² Mahāmahopādhpāya Pandit V. Swāminātha Aiyar was able to trace three versions of the same story when he was engaged several years ago in collecting the local legends at Madhyārjuna (i) the Varaguṇa story as given above: (ii) another with Haṃsadh-vaja a Cōḷa king of Uṇṇaiyūr, as its hero giving a variant of the story as we have it in our *purāṇa* wherein the king requests the Brāhman to go Kāśī and bathe in the Ganges for his (the king's) merit, and when the Brāhman pleads inability an account of his youthful wife who had none to look after her, the king offers to take charge of her in his absence (iii) yet another form in which Virasēna a king of a town on the banks of the Tāmraparaṇī kills a Brāhman by accident missing his aim while hunting and incurs the sin.³ Again, the *brahmahatyā* is attributed to Karikāla in some legends of the Telugu country which trace Karikāla's descent very differently from our *Purāṇa*.⁴ This examination of the subject matter of the legends has made two things clear: first that the stories in this *purāṇa* are in conflict with the legends on the origin of the Cōḷas as they are narrated in contemporary epigraphs of the dynasty and secondly that these stories are a rather late collection of several commonly known legends fitted into an imaginary frame work of sixteen Cōḷa kings, the names of several of them being just invented for the occasion.

It will not be without interest to determine the period and circumstances which witnessed the fertile crop of local *māhātmyas* and *purāṇas* embodying legends relating to each locality

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1. Story No. 48.
 2. Stanza 40 *ibid*.
 3. Madhyārjunamāṇḍīyam by Pandit V. Swaminatha Iyer page 30-5. See also Wilson's Catal. of Mack. MSS. (Cal. 1882) No. 26 p. 194.
 4. See schedule A Nos. 7, 12, 15, 26 in Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya's Trilōcana Pallava Karikāla Cōḷa.

Though there appears to be no means as yet of deciding exactly when the *māhātmyas* of the Tanjore district noticed by Hultsch were composed, we can be certain that most of them fall into a single group and must have been composed close upon one another and by the same type of popular writers who had more zeal than learning and whose credulity, piety and local patriotism are much more in evidence than their regard for the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody. In the absence of more precise data, I can only draw attention to one fact which seems to point to a tentative decision on the period at which the *Bṛhadīśvara* and other *māhātmyas* of the kind may be taken to have been composed. The *Haradattācāryacarita* to which I have alluded at the beginning of this paper makes a Śivaliṅgamahīpati of the Pāṇḍya country a disciple of Haradatta. It is well-known that Śivaliṅgabhūpati of the Koṇḍaviḍu Redḍi family (c. 1450 A. D.)¹ was the author of a commentary on Haradattācārya's *Caturveda-tātparyasamgraha*. It seems likely that the legend connecting a Pāṇḍya Śivaliṅga with Haradatta had its origin only when the true history of Śivaliṅgabhūpa, the Reddi author had been sufficiently forgotten for the legend to appear plausible. If this surmise is correct, the *Haradattācāryacarita* must be dated at least, say, a century after Śivaliṅga's date, which would take us to about the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. If we assume that the legends in the *Cōlavamśacaritra* (alias *Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmya*) were put together about the same time we may say that it dates from the latter half of the 16th century or a little later. And *prima facie* it does not seem likely that this mass of confused legend goes back to an earlier period.

APPENDIX.

Bṛhadīśāṣṭaka—Hymn said to have been sung by Karikāla when he was relieved of his leprosy:—

नमो देवादिदेवाय चन्द्रचूडाय शंभवे ।

बृहदम्बापते तुभ्यं बृहदीशाय ते नमः ॥

विश्वनाथाय नित्याय व्योमकेशाय शूलिने ।

वामदेवाय भीमाय बृहदीशाय ते नमः ॥

1. Mad. Epig. Rep. 1900 p. 24; and Hultsch Rep. on Sansk. MSS. No. II p. xii.

महादेवाय शुद्धाय शंकराय कपर्दिने ।
 प्रणताज्ञाननाशाय बृह० ॥
 गङ्गाधराय विश्वाय सर्पहाराय ते नमः ।
 पशूनां पतये तुभ्यं बृह० ॥
 भस्मरुद्राक्षमालाय कुमारजनकाय च ।
 गणेशनन्दिसेव्याय बृह० ॥
 वृषध्वजाय सर्वाय बृहन्मुण्डधराय च ।
 कपालमालिने तुभ्यं बृह० ॥
 स्मारथाय नमस्तुभ्यं नमस्ते मेरुधन्विने ।
 विष्णुबाणाय देवाय बृह० ॥
 त्रियम्बकाय भर्गाय नीलकण्ठाय हेतवे ।
 सर्गरक्षकरान्ताय बृह० ॥
 त्वदर्चकानां भक्तानां सद्यः क्षिप्रप्रसादिने ।
 श्रीरुद्रपतिपाशाय बृह० ॥

STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

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IV.

We may now turn from war and battle to things more homely. The Rāmāyaṇa is justly famous for descriptions of the tender side of life, love, loyalty and devotion. In the midst of elaborate descriptions of fights are to be found many scenes drawn from family life. The main theme of the work is, after all, the dutifulness of Rāma as a son and the devotion and loyalty of Sītā as a wife. These are not, however, the only human emotions which form the subject of Vālmīki's picturesque descriptions. Sometimes it is friendship, or the Kings solicitude for his subjects, or the latter's loyalty to the former. At other times, it is a brother's devotion or a sister's love which calls forth the latent powers of the poet. Let us begin by examining the images which occur in Vālmīki's description of love between man and woman and all that may be connected with it, for this subject assumes immense importance in later Sanskrit Kāvya literature, where its treatment can be better understood if one keeps in mind Vālmīki's way of dealing with it.

Love images come in the Rāmāyaṇa in two ways: indirectly, *i.e.*, when things are described in terms of love or the fair sex; directly, when the feelings of people who love each other are described. Students of Sanskrit literature know how the tendency exhibited in the former way becomes fully developed in later times and yields to the reader some of the best images ever known in Sanskrit. The Rāmāyaṇa gives us some of the earliest specimens of such images.

It is rather interesting to note how a river and a woman are intimately connected in the poet's imagination. In autumn, we are told, the course of rivers, which exhibit girdles in the form of lines of fishes, is rather slow, like that of women early in the morning when they are weary after the pleasures of love.¹ The sight of a river issuing from a mountain suggests to the poet the idea of a woman slipping off from the lap of her lover.² When the current of a river is checked by fallen trees, the poet thinks of an angry maiden kept off from her determined course by the friends of her lover.³ In autumn, the rivers lose some of that abundance of water brought to them by the rains and the sand begins to show itself here and there. The poet says it is like shy women exposing their hips hesitatingly in their first unions with their lovers.⁴ While describing the sleeping wives of Rāvaṇa it occurs to the poet that some of them are like rivers, with their hips corresponding to sandbanks.⁵ In all these images, the water in a river seems to correspond to the flowing clothes of a woman. How these and similar images persist in later periods and what modifications they undergo is an altogether separate study, which the present writer has undertaken and the results of which he hopes someday to submit to the judgment of scholars. It will not, however, be out of place just to refer here to one or two verses of Kālidāsa, where the identification of a river and a woman occurs. To him also, lives of fish in a river can repre-

1. मीनोपसंदर्शितमेखलानां

नदीवधूनां गतयोऽद्य मन्दाः ।

कान्तोपभुक्तालसगामिनीनां

प्रभातकालेष्विव कामिनीनाम् ॥ IV. 30. 54.

2. ददर्श च नगात्तस्मान्नीं निपतितां कपिः ।

अङ्गादिव समुत्पत्य प्रियस्य पतितां प्रियाम् ॥ V. 14. 28.

3. जलेन पतिताग्रैश्च पादपैरुपशोभितम् ।

वार्यमाणामिव क्रुद्धां प्रमदां प्रियवन्धुभिः ॥ V. 14. 30.

4. दर्शयन्ति शरन्नद्यः पुलिनानि शनैः शनैः ।

नवसंगमसत्रीडा जघनानीव योषितः ॥ IV. 30. 58.

5. आपगा इव ता रेजुर्जघनैः पुलिनैरिव । V. 9. 51.

sent the girdle going round the waist of a woman¹ and the sand-banks stand for her hips.² Speaking of Umā, he says that she, being smeared with white *agaru* and decorated with designs made of *gorocanā* surpassed the beauty of Gaṅgā, with its sand-banks adorned with 'Cakravāka' birds. And so on. It is not merely rivers which suggest to the poet the idea of a woman. Other collections of water can do the same. Ponds in autumn, we are told, with lines of swans for girdle, and lotuses for garland, have the supreme beauty of ornamented woman.³ Nor is the comparison with a woman confined to collections of water, among all the objects of nature. In one place, we are told, that when the Sun moves on the South, the North, being deprived of it, is like a woman without her mark on her forehead.⁴ In another place, it is suggested that the evening reddened by the setting Sun and having its stars brightened by the rays of the moon, is like a woman in love whose eyes open wide through the joy of being touched by the lover.⁵ In a third place, it is the night with full moon for face, the bright stars for eyes and the white moonlight for garment which suggests comparison with a woman clad all in white.⁶

If there is a special connection between a river and a woman in nature descriptions, it is the association of a male and

1. खे व्यगाहत तरङ्गिणीमुमा
मीनपङ्क्तिपुनरुक्तमेखला । Kumārasambhava, VIII. 26.
2. चञ्चलमनोऽशशरीरशनाकलापाः
पर्यन्तसंस्थितसिताण्डजपङ्क्तिहाराः ।
नद्यो विशालपुलिनान्तनितम्बबिम्बाः
मन्दं प्रयान्ति समदाः प्रमदा इवाद्य ॥ Rtu-samhāra. III. 3.
3. प्रकीर्णहंसाकुलमेखलानां
प्रबुद्धपद्मोत्पलमालिनीनाम् ।
वाप्युत्तमानामधिकाद्य लक्ष्मी-
वर्णानामिधै भूषितानाम् ॥ IV. 30. 49
4. सेवमाने दृढं सूर्ये दिशमन्तकसेविताम् ।
विहीनतिलकेव स्त्री नोत्तरा दिक् प्रकाशते ॥ III. 16. 8.
5. चञ्चलचन्द्रकरस्पर्शहर्षोन्मीलिततारका ।
अहो रागवती सन्ध्या जहातु स्वयमम्बरम् ॥ IV. 30. 45.
6. रात्रिः शशाङ्कोदितचारुवक्त्रा
तारागणोन्मीलितचारुनेत्रा ।

a female elephant which seems to typify all romantic associations. Rāvaṇa surrounded by his wives looked like a male elephant surrounded by female ones in a forest.¹ On hearing Daśaratha's death, his wives screamed like female elephants in a forest when the leader of the herd has gone astray.² Sītā separated from Rāma was like a female elephant separated from the mate.³ This idea persists throughout the history of Sanskrit literature. It is not a mere accident that, in the 3rd act of the Uttarrāmacarita, Bhavabhūti introduces the incident of a young elephant being attached by a more grown up one, while enjoying the company of its mate.⁴ Steeped as he was in the atmosphere of the Rāmāyaṇa and wishing to convey to the reader the intensity of Rāma's feelings during his separation from Sītā, he could not have thought of a better example than the separation of a happily united couple of elephants. It is this same psychology, in which the union of elephant couples, typifies all romantic unions, which makes Rāvaṇa tell the Rākṣasīs :—"Bring Sītā round to my way of thinking, as one tames a young wild female elephant."⁵ Sometimes, however, it is the cow and the bull which stand as a symbol of romantic union. This idea is present when the poet says that when Bharata entered Ayodhyā, the city looked like a cow deserted by the bull,⁶ or that Tārā mourned fallen Vālin as a cow mourns the

स्योत्सांशुकप्रावरणा विभाति

नारीव शुक्लांशुकसंवृताङ्गी ॥ IV. 30. 46.

1. स राक्षसेन्द्रः शुशुभे ताभिः परिवृतः स्वयम् ।

करेणुभिर्नयारण्ये परिकीर्णो यथा द्विपः ॥ V. 11. 12.

2. ततः प्रचुक्रुशुर्दीनाः सस्वरं ता वराङ्गनाः

करेणव इवारण्ये स्थानप्रच्युतयूथपाः ॥ II. 65. 21.

3. गृहीतां लडितां स्तम्भे यूथपेन विनाकृताम् ।

निश्वसन्तीं सुदुःखार्तां गजराजवधूमिव ॥

4. सीतादेव्या स्वकरकलितैः शल्लकीपल्लवाग्रै-

रग्रे लोलः करिकलभको यः पुरा पोषितोऽभूत् ।

बन्धा सार्धं पयसि विहरन् सोऽयमन्येन दपा-

दुहामेन द्विरदपतिना सन्निपत्याभियुक्तः ॥ Uttarrāma Carita, III. 6.

5. आनयध्वं वशं सर्वा वन्यां गजदधूमिव । III. 56. 31.

6. गोवृषेण परित्यक्तां गवां पत्नीमिवोत्सुकाम् । II 114. 9.

bull killed by the lion,¹ or that Rāvaṇa amidst his wives was like a bull among cows.² It must also be mentioned that the separation of the Cakravāka from its mate at night, destined to symbolize all separation of lovers in later Sanskrit literature, is already made use of in a few images in the Rāmāyaṇa.³

So much about union of lovers in general. But the Rāmāyaṇa is primarily a description of the love of Rāma and Sītā and many are the images used to bring out its deep, noble, enduring and eternal character. Sītā belongs to Rāma as knowledge belongs to a Brahmin who has cultivated his soul.⁴ The union of the two is pre-ordained. One cannot think of the one without the other. Sītā cannot leave Rāma any more than the lustre of the Sun leaves Meru.⁵ The union of the two was as beautiful as that of the Moon with Rohiṇī⁶ or Citrā⁷, or of Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī⁸. It is just in this connection, while Sītā's devotion to Rāma is being described that one finds an allusion to old characters, legendary or historical, which is otherwise so rare a feature in the Rāmāyaṇa. While indignantly rejecting the request of the Rākṣasīs to yield to Rāvaṇa, Sītā declares she is as devoted to Rāma as Śacī to Indra, as Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha, as Rohiṇī to Śaśin, as Lopāmudrā to Agastya, as Sukanyā to Cyavana, as Sāvitrī to Satyavān, as Śrīmatī to Kapila, as Madayantī to Sudāsa, as

1. अहं पुनसहाया त्वामुपासे गतचेतनम् ।

सिंहेन पतितं सद्यो गौः सवत्सेव गोवृषम् ॥ IV. 23. 26.

2. गवां मध्ये यथा वृषः । V. 11- 11.

3. सहचररहितेव चक्रवाकी

जनकमुता कृपणां दशां प्रपन्ना । V. 16, 30.

4. अहमौपयिकी भार्या तस्यैव च धरापतेः ।

व्रतस्नातस्य विद्येव विप्रस्य विदितात्मनः ॥ V. 21. 17.

5. न जहाति रता धर्मे मेरुमर्कप्रभा यथा । II. 40. 24.

6. तथा सुचरितं देव्या पुरा नूनं महत्तपः ।

रोहिणीव शशाङ्केन रामसंयोगमाप या ॥ II. 16. 42.

7. उपेतं सीतया भूयश्चित्तया शशिनं यथा । II. 16. 10.

विरराज महाबाहुश्चित्रया चन्द्रमा यथा । III. 17. 4.

8. अतीव रामः शुशुभे मुदान्वितो

विभुः श्रिया विष्णुरिवामरेश्वरः । I. 77. 29.

Keśinī to Sagara and as Damayanti to Naiṣadha.¹ More picturesque perhaps as an image is the statement that the wives of Rāvaṇa followed him as flashes of lightning follow the cloud.² The association of lightning and cloud has always typified the union of man and woman; a *fortiori*, that of Rāvaṇa, the huge dark, shapeless monster with his slim and graceful wife (cf. Mandōdārī). Quite full of colour is the declaration of Rāvaṇa that Sītā has ravished his heart as the Garuḍa takes away his snake.³ He is weary with love as a horse after a long journey.⁴ Rāvaṇa's ignoble love for Sītā has stirred Vālmiki's imagination as few things have done and the result is a bunch of racy images. No two men can be more unlike each other than Rāma and Rāvaṇa. When the latter makes his ignoble proposal to Sītā, she rejects it saying that the difference between Rāma and him was the same as between gold and lead,⁵ sandal water and mud,⁶ the ocean and a petty rivulet,⁷ the elephant and a cat,⁸ the Garuḍa and the crow,⁹ the swan and the vulture.¹⁰ Hence Rāvaṇa's desire for Sītā, Rāma's wife, is as contemptible and as impossible of realisation as that of a jackal for a lioness.¹¹ He might as well drink 'Kālakūṭa' poison and

1. यथा शची महाभागा शक्रं समुपतिष्ठति ।
अरुन्धती वसिष्ठं च रोहिणी शशिनं यथा ।
लोपामुद्रा यथागस्त्यं सुकन्या च्यवनं यथा ॥
सावित्री सत्यवन्तं च कपिलं श्रीमती यथा ।
सौदासं मदयन्तीव केशिनी सगरं यथा ॥
नैषधं दमयन्तीव भैमी पतिमनुव्रता ॥ V. 24. 9 and 2.
2. अनुजग्मुः पतिं वीरं घनं विद्युल्लता इव । V. 18. 15.
3. मनो हरसि मे भीरु सुपर्णः पन्नगं यथा । V. 20. 29.
4. श्रान्तोऽहं सततं कामाद्यातो हय इवाध्वनि । VI. 12. 20.
5. यदन्तरं काञ्चनसीसलोहयोः । III. 47. 46.
6. यदन्तरं चन्दनवारिपङ्क्तयोः । III. 47. 46.
7. यदन्तरं स्यन्दनिकासमुद्रयोः । III. 47. 45.
8. यदन्तरं हस्तिविडालयोर्वने । III. 47. 46.
9. यदन्तरं वायसवैनतेययोः । III. 47. 47.
10. यदन्तरं हंसकृष्णयोर्वने । III. 47. 47.
11. त्वं पुनर्जम्बुकः सिंहीं मामिहेच्छसि दुर्लभाम् । III. 47. 37.

hope to remain healthy !¹ It is as dangerous as licking the blade of a razor,² or walking on spikes with metal points. It is as much beyond his power as trying to cross the ocean with a stone hanging round his neck,⁴ or deprive the Sun of its lustre⁵ or take both the sun and the moon together in his hands.⁶ For Rāvaṇa to touch Sītā is as outrageous as for a Caṇḍāla to touch the altar in the middle of a sacrifice.⁷ In taking Sītā away, Rāvaṇa does not realise that the knot of death is round his neck.⁸ He is really tying on a snake to his clothes and does not know it.⁹ Rāvaṇa wanting Sītā is trying to lift the Mandara mountain.¹⁰ Sītā cannot respond to Rāvaṇa's love any more than twice-born can impart the Vedic Mantras to one who is not a twice-born.¹¹ Sītā, the true wife of Rāma, is as worthy of protection from the attacks of the wicked as the Veda from arguments full of logic.¹² Sugrīva promises Rāma to bring Sītā back as one brings back a lost Veda.¹³ And so on.

So much for love of the Romantic type. Coming now to parental and filial love, it would surprise no one to hear that it is symbolised in the Rāmāyaṇa by the love of the cow for the calf. Kausalyā declares that she would follow Rāma to the forest as a

1. कालकूटविषं पीत्वा स्वस्तिमान् गन्तुमिच्छसि । III. 47. 40.
2. जिह्वया लेढि च क्षुरम् । III. 47. 41.
3. अयोमुखानां शूलानां मध्ये चरितुमिच्छसि । III. 47. 44.
4. अवसज्ज्य शिलां कण्ठे समुद्रं तर्तुमिच्छसि । III. 47. 42.
5. इच्छसि प्रसभं हर्तुं प्रभामिव विवस्वतः । III. 37. 14.
6. सूर्यचन्द्रमसौ चोभौ पाणिभ्यां हर्तुमिच्छसि । III. 47. 43.
7. न शक्या यज्ञमध्यस्था वेदिः स्रग्भाण्डमण्डिता ।
द्विजातिमन्त्रसंपूता चण्डालेनायमर्दितुम् ॥ III. 56. 18.
8. ग्रीवायां प्रतिमुक्तं च कालपाशं न पश्यसि । III. 50. 17.
9. सर्पमाशीदिषं बद्धा वस्त्रान्ते नावबुध्यसे । III. 50. 17.
10. मन्दरं पर्वतश्रेष्ठं पाणिना हर्तुमिच्छसि । III. 47. 40.
11. भावं न चास्याहमनुप्रदातु-
मलं द्विजो मन्त्रमिवाद्विजाय । V. 28.
12. न शक्तस्त्वं बलाद्धर्तुं वैदेहीं मम पश्यतः ।
हेतुभिर्न्यायसंयुक्तैर्भ्रवां वेदश्रुतीमिव । III. 50. 22.
13. अहं तामानयिष्यामि नष्टां वेदश्रुतीमिव । IV. 6. 5.

cow follows its calf.¹ Rāma says his heart melts on seeing the jewel sent to him by Sītā as a cow melts on seeing the calf.² Sometimes it is the mare and the colt which stand for parental love. Kāusalyā runs to Rāma as a mare runs to a colt.³ In one place, it is stated that Sumitrā without Lakṣmaṇa was like a branch of Kaṇṇikāra without flowers, the idea being, of course, that the chief ornament of a mother was her son.⁴ Equally picturesque is the statement that Rāma was Daśaratha's life walking abroad.⁵ Usually, however, this image is used of brothers devoted to each other. Thus it is stated many times that Lakṣmaṇa is Rāma's life walking abroad.⁶ Sometimes he is to be Rāma's right hand. The two Aśvins are, however, the symbol of brotherly affection.⁷ Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma, Vālin and Sugriva were devoted to each other like the two Aśvins.⁸ Two brothers like Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, lending strength to each other, are like fire and wind.⁹

Some images relating to friendship are rather noteworthy. Most of them dwell, however, on the negative aspect of it i.e., when it is not properly appreciated.¹⁰ Friendship shown toward the ignoble, we are told, is like water flowing on lotus leaves. Neither makes any impression on the recipient. Or, it is like clouds soaring in autumn. It produces nothing. If indulged in, it ends badly, like an elephant bathing first and then cover-

1. कथं हि धेनुः स्वं वत्सं गच्छन्तमनुगच्छति ।
अहं त्वानुगमिष्यामि यत्र वत्स गमिष्यसि ॥ II. 24. 9.
2. यथैव धेनुः स्रवति स्नेहाद्वत्सस्य वत्सला ।
तथा ममापि हृदयं मणिश्रेष्ठस्य दर्शनात् ॥ V. 66. 3.
3. अभिचक्राम संहृष्टा किशोरं वडवा यथा । II. 20. 20.
4. कर्णिकारस्य शाखेव शीर्णपुष्पा वनान्तरे । II. 92. 23.
5. बहिश्चर इव प्राणो बभूव गुणतः प्रियः । II. 1. 19.
6. रामस्य दक्षिणो बाहुर्नित्यं प्राणो बहिश्चरः । III. 34. 14.
7. अश्विनोरिव सौभ्रात्रं तयोर्लोकेषु विश्रुतम् । II. 8. 31.
8. अन्योन्यसदृशौ वीराबुधौ देवाविवाश्विनौ । IV. 2. 19.
9. स तेन सह संयुक्तः पावकेनानिलो यथा । III. 31. 17.
10. यथा पुष्करपत्रेषु पतितास्तोयविन्दवः ।
न श्लेषमभिगच्छन्ति तथानार्येषु सौहृदम् ॥ VI. 16. 12.

ing itself with mud.¹ It is as useless as a bee drinking the Kāśapuṣpa and finding no honey in it.² To live with one who pretends to be a friend, but who is really not so, is taking a very great risk. Better to live with one's enemy or with an angry snake rather than with such a person.³ Kaikeṣī appeared to the poet to be such a person in her behaviour towards Daśaratha. In marrying her and living with her, Daśaratha did not know that he was touching a black snake in the dark.⁴ He failed to realise that he was really embracing fire.⁵ In his agony he exclaims that he had brought about his own destruction by keeping a serpent in his lap for too long.⁶ He had been cheated by a woman hiding her real nature, as by fire covered with ashes.⁷ It is interesting to note that this very image is used by the poet on another occasion to describe hidden talent or splendour. Śugrīva says that Rāma's ability and talent are not quite conspicuous. They are like fire covered with ashes.⁸ One who pretends to be a friend, but who is really not one, is like a serpent, crying like a frog to attract and catch it.⁹ It will be seen that the poet's views about friendship are, on the whole, rather pessimistic.

When, we come to the relation between a king and his subjects, the picture is not so one-sided. There are many images

1. यथा पूर्वे गजः स्नात्वा गृह्य हस्तेन वै रजः ।
दूषयत्यात्मनो देहं तथानार्येषु सौहृदम् ॥ VI. 16. 15.
2. यथा मधुकरस्तर्पात् काशपुष्पं पिबन्नपि ।
रसमत्र न विन्देत तथानार्येषु सौहृदम् ॥ VI. 16. 14.
3. वसेत् सह सपत्नेन क्रुद्धेनाशीविषेण च ।
न तु मित्रप्रवादेन संवसेच्छत्रुसेविना ॥ VI. 16. 2.
4. बालो रहसि हस्तेन कृष्णसर्पमिवास्पृशम् । II. 12. 81.
5. अङ्गारमुपगृह्य स्म पिता मे नावबुद्धवान् । II. 73. 4.
6. चिरं वताङ्गेन धृतासि सर्पिं
महापिशा तेन हतोऽस्मि मोहात् । II. 12. 105.
7. छन्नया चलितस्त्वस्मि स्त्रिया भस्मान्निकल्पया । II. 34. 46.
8. कामं राघव ते वाणी प्रमाणं धैर्यमाकृतिः ।
सूचयति परं तेजो भस्मच्छन्नमिवानलम् ॥ IV. 11. 81.
9. न त्वां रामो विजानीति सर्पं मण्डूकराविणम् । IV. 34. 15.

illustrative of the love and devotion existing between good kings and their subjects. People watch Rāma go to see his father and they now await his return as the ocean awaits the rise of the moon.¹ Bharata tells Rāma who was unwilling to return to Ayodhyā that people await his return as the cultivators wait for rain.² Subjects are distressed by Rāma's departure as water animals by the drying-up of water in summer.³ A good king is like the very eye of his subjects.⁴ Even more picturesque are the images used to describe bad kings. Subjects despise a greedy king as they do the fire at the crematorium.⁵ People ruled by a bad king are as pitiable as deer protected by a jackal.⁶ Subjects avoid a foolish king as elephants avoid mud at the river.⁷ We have thus briefly passed in a review the contents of the Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. Such a survey, would, however, not be complete if we did not say a few words about the forms in which the contents are couched and examine the relation between them. That is what we propose to do in our next and concluding article.

(To be concluded).

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1. प्रतीक्षसे तस्य पुनः स्म निर्गमं
यथोदयं चन्द्रमसः सरित्पतिः । II. 12. 22.
 2. त्वामेव हि प्रतीक्षन्ते पर्जन्यमिव कर्षकाः । II. 112. 12.
 3. तस्मात्तस्योपघातेन प्रजाः परमपीडिताः ।
औदकानीव सत्वानि ग्रीष्मे सलिलसंक्षयात् ॥ II. 33. 13.
 4. यथा दृष्टिः शरीरस्य नित्यमेव प्रवर्तते ।
तथा नरेन्द्रो रामस्य प्रभवः सत्यधर्मयोः ॥ II. 67. 33.
 5. लुब्धं न बहु मन्यन्ते श्मशानान्निमिव प्रजाः । III. 33. 3.
 6. रक्ष्यमाणा न वर्धन्ते मृगा गोसायुना यथा । IV. 17. 42.
 7. वर्जयन्ति नरा दूरं नदीपङ्कमिव द्विजाः । III. 33. 5.

THE MUSICAL ELEMENT IN KĀLIDĀSA.¹

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In the entire range of Indian Poetry there is no greater name than that of Kālidāsa. While proverbially tastes differ, “भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः”, all are agreed that Kālidāsa is the finest product of Indian culture. How is that? It is because he is alike the poet of inspiration and of learning—a combination rare as that of learning and wealth, “निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थं, तस्मिन् द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च”. There are those poets who are born, who are richly endowed by nature with that “fine frenzy” which we style poetic genius. And there are those poets who are the products of the cloister, who spend their days amongst books, and, like the bee gathering honey from all the flowers, store their mind with the best that has been thought and said by men of inspiration and culture. The two elements are not mutually exclusive, and can never be. A purely learned man without nature’s inspiration is not a poet, though he may write verses. Of him it can be said “हठादाकृष्टानां कतिपयपदानां रचयिता”. Likewise a poet without some learning and culture must be more appropriately styled as an “inspired barbarian” rather than a poet. So that both the elements must be found in every poet of eminence, though the proportion of the two might differ in the various poets. Shakspeare, for example, is predominantly a poet of inspiration, while Milton is pre-eminently a poet of learning and culture. It is the unique distinction of Kālidāsa that he is eminent alike for his natural poetic gifts and for his learning and culture. He is a Shakspeare and a Milton rolled into one and that I believe is without a parallel.

1. A paper read on the ‘Kālidāsa day’ celebrated by the Sanskrit Academy on 19-10-1930. The author has used in this paper, the references contained in the article “Kālidāsa and Music” by Sardar G. N. Majumdar, which appeared in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. VII, 1926.

In those spacious days in which Kālidāsa lived, science and art were in a flourishing condition. It was not merely in the realm of metaphysics as in the Upaniṣads, it was not merely in the realm of Ethics and the theology as in the Mīmāṃsā; it was not merely in the realm of grammar, as in Pāṇini and Patañjali; it was not merely in the realm of poetry as in Vālmīki and Vyāsa, that ancient India led. Even in the realms of medicine, surgery, astronomy and—what is more to our propose—fine arts, Indian science and art had attained to a high level of perfection. The works of Kālidāsa show that he knew all these subjects well. He does not display his knowledge—indeed that would be pedantic. But all knowledge passing through his gifted mind became alchemised by his imagination into something new and brilliant. He had “a soul like an Aeolian harp in whose strings the vulgar wind, as it passed through them, changed itself into articulate melody”. The most prosaic thought was attired by Kālidāsa in a poetic garb. For example, Raghuvamśa Canto 14, St. 40. The shadow in the moon is understood by the man in the street to be a dark spot therein; whereas the astronomical notion, with which Kālidāsa was familiar, set it down as a reflection of the earth on the Moon. When Rāma is told that people are casting aspersions on Sītā's character he observes that he knows Sītā to be pure and that the aspersions are without foundation, and cites the moon and the spot as an illustration:—

अवैमि चैनामनघेति किं तु

लोकापवादो बलवान् मनो मे ।

छाया हि भूमेः शशिनो मलत्वे-

नारोपिता शुद्धिमतः प्रजाभिः ॥ R. XIV. 40.

Thus it happens that to an ordinary reader of Kālidāsa, unacquainted with Indian arts and sciences, the full significance of several passages of his are lost. As our knowledge increases we begin to appreciate Kālidāsa more and more. The lay notion of Kālidāsa that he was an unlettered man, who blossomed into a great poet by the grace of Kālī, is not correct. It is no doubt true that the natural gifts of Kālidāsa are of the highest order but his learning and culture are as high; and if that is not so apparent to us, it is because we lack the knowledge and culture which he possessed.

Music is one of the several subjects of which Kālidāsa had a profound knowledge. That he had a fine ear for music is obvious. In Kumārasambhava, in describing the melodious flow of Pārvatī's words, he says that even the voice of Kokila was by comparison unmusical and jarring as when discordant notes are struck.

स्वरेण तस्याममृतस्रुतेव
सञ्जल्पितायामभिजातवाचि ।
अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा
श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥ K. I. 44.

That music has the effect of drowning sorrow is reflected in its being adopted as one of the Vinodas by the Yakṣāṅganā in Meghasandēśa,

“प्रायेणैते रमणविरहेष्वङ्गनानां विनोदाः” M. 92.
So with a view to console herself she takes up the Vīṇā.

“उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्रोत्राङ्गं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्रातुकामा ।
तन्त्रीरार्द्रा नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथंचित्
भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥ M. 91.

That, for tuning, the strings of the Vīṇā should be kept unmoist is a piece of knowledge, which, though simple, may not be known to persons who have no practical knowledge of the instrument. The effect which fine music produces has nowhere been better described than in the well-known verse in Śākuntala.

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥ Ś. V. 1.

That sweet music produces a sense of melancholy is a very true observation. Readers of Shelley might remember the passage in the Shylark “Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought”.

Kālidāsa has drawn several apt and striking similes from the sphere of music. In Raghuvamśa, when King Dilipa goes to the forest alone, the noise produced by the bamboos by the action of the wind is described as the flute forming the accompaniment to Vanadevatās singing praise of the King.

स कीचकैर्मारुतपूर्णरन्ध्रैः

कूजद्विरापादितवंशकृत्यम् ।

शुश्राव कुक्षेषु मशः स्वमुच्चै-

रुद्रीयमानं वनदेवताभिः ॥ R. 1f-12.

The same idea Kālidāsa expresses both in Kumārasambhava and Meghasandēśa.

यः पूरयन् कीचकरन्ध्रभागान्

दरीमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन ।

उद्रास्यतामिच्छति किन्नराणां

तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ॥ K. I. 8.

This is in Kumārasambhava. The description in Meghasandēśa is fuller:—

शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः कीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः

संरक्ताभिः त्रिपुरविजयो गीयते किन्नरीभिः ।

निर्हादी ते मुरज इव चेत्कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्

संगीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तत्र भावी समस्तः ॥ M. 58.

In Raghuvamśa, when Indumatī is lying lifeless on the lap of King Aja, she is compared to a Viṇā without the strings.

प्रतियोजयितव्यवल्लकी-

समवस्यामथ सत्वविप्लवात् । R. VIII. 41.

In the ninth canto, in describing the spring season Kālidāsa compares the creepers in the gardens with their leaves shaken by the winds to dancers keeping "layam" with their hands.

श्रुतिसुखभ्रमरस्वनगीतयः

कुसुमकोमलदन्तरुचो बभुः ।

उपवनान्तलताः पवनाहतैः

किसलयैः सलयैरिव पाणिभिः ॥ R. IX. 35.

Kālidāsa, being the cultured admirer of the music that he was, naturally appreciated "*tālam*". In Raghuvamśa king Agnivarṇa is described as such an adept in *layam* that he confused the professional dancers.

स स्वयं प्रहतपुष्करः कृती

लोलमाल्यवलयो हरन्मनः ।

नर्तकीरभिनयातिलङ्घनीः

पार्श्ववर्तिषु गुरुष्वलज्जयत् ॥ R. XIX 14.

Very picturesque is the description of the peacock which was trained to dance to the Yakṣāṅganā keeping time.

तालैः शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैः कान्तया नर्तितो मे

यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठः सुहृदः ॥ M. 89.

The fine picture of women singing with *tālam* in their hands and *valayas* jingling has always appealed to Indian imagination. Compare the following verse in the Avimāraka :—

तानस्तु मन्दो विशदप्रवृत्तो

जातश्च नादो मुखनासिकेन ।

स्थूलोऽपि हेतुः करतालनादः

सञ्जायते सद्वलयस्वनेन ॥

Avimāraka, Act III.

It is also clear from Kālidāsa's works that he was familiar with the details of practical singing. Thus Mālavikā begins her song with an "*Upagānam*", which appears to correspond to the modern practise of musicians singing the "*rāgam*", before singing the Kṛti. Then again in Śākuntalam he refers to Hamsa-padikā practising on *Vaṇṇa* which is obviously an exercise on the *Svaras*.

कलविशुद्धाया गीतेः स्वरसंयोगः श्रूयते । जाने, तत्रभवती हंसपदिका
वर्णपरिचयं करोति ।

Ś. V.

In Vikramorvaśīyam, Act IV, Kālidāsa refers to the practice of pronouncing "*तेना*" before singing. What this precisely means we are not in a position to say. Bharata says, that they

are auspicious words for music corresponding to ओम् in Vedic discourses. Further, we have this information about it.

तेकारः शंकरः प्रोक्तः नकारश्च उमा तथा ।

गीतादौ तेन वक्तव्यं तेना इत्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥

I may add that there does not appear to be anything corresponding to this in modern music.

Kālidāsa gives us the names of several *Rāgas*. For instance he mentions a *Rāga* called *Kaiśika*, and it is said that the Kinnara sang this *rāga* in the morning to wake up Śiva from his nuptial slumber.

स व्यबुध्यत बुधस्तवोचितः

शातकुम्भकमलकरैः समम् ।

मूर्च्छनापरिगृहीतकैशिकैः

किन्नरैरुपसि गीतमङ्गलः ॥

K. VIII. 85.

This *Kaiśika* is no doubt what is known in modern music as *Maṅgala Kaiśikī*. We use this *Rāgam* on the nuptial occasion and not in the morning to wake up, but at the time of the *Sanniveśanam*.

In the fourth act of *Vikramorvaśīyam*, Kālidāsa has composed several songs and mentions *Rāgas* in which they are to be sung such as *Bhinnaka*, *Valantika*, *Kakubha*. We are not able to say to what modern *Rāgas* they correspond and if those *Rāgas* survive at all in modern music under any name. Nowhere is Kālidāsa's technical knowledge of music so apparent as in the *Vikramorvaśīya*. In fact the fourth Act is an opera pure and simple. It has always been my belief that this drama was written to celebrate some incident in the life of King *Vikramāditya*, very much in the manner in which the drama *Pārijātamañjarī* came to be written by the Poet *Madana* to celebrate an incident which happened in the court of his patron, King *Arjuna*. Whatever that might be, the fourth act of *Vikramorvaśīyam* is a feast of music. Kālidāsa appears not merely as a poet but as a musical composer. Technical terms such as *द्विपदी*, *चर्चरी*, *जम्भलिका*, *खण्डधरा*, *खण्डक*, *कुटिलिका*, and so forth are freely used. I must say that many of those terms, though defined in *Bharata* have lost their significance to us and are mere names. The subject is one that has not received adequate attention at the hands of scholars

In Mālavikāgnimitra, we get another glimpse of the high degree of technical knowledge which Kālidāsa possessed in music. For the dance of Mālavikā, Kālidāsa composes a song

“दुल्लहो पिओ मे.” We are not here directly concerned with the technical knowledge of dancing displayed by the great poet. With respect to music proper, there are two points which deserve notice. Firstly, Kālidāsa describes the change of the drum in this verse:

जीमूतस्तनितविशङ्किभिर्मयूरैः

उद्ग्रीवैरनुरसितस्य पुष्करस्य ।

निर्हादिन्युपहितमध्यमस्वरोत्था

मायूरी मदयति मार्जना मनांसि ॥

Māl. I. 21.

What does मायूरी mean? There are three different kinds mentioned in Bharata, Māyūrī, Ardhāmāyūrī and Karmaravi. Further information can be had in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Adhyāya 32, stanzas 93 to 97. The point to be noted is that Māyūrī evolves the Madhyama as the ascendant note, Ardhāmāyūrī evolves Dhaivata and the Karmaravi the Pañcama notes. That is why Kālidāsa refers to Māyūrīmārjanā as Madhyamasvarotthā.

The other point to be noted is that the song of Mālavikā is described as Laya-madhyā. The significance of it is this. The three kinds of Layam—Vilamba, Madhyama and Druta—are suited to express different kinds of *rasas*. Thus the Vilamba is appropriate for pathos; Madhyamakāla is aptly used to express love; and Druta suggests heroism, fear, wonder and the like. Bharata says :—

“शृङ्गारहास्ययोर्मध्यलयः । करुणे विलम्बितः । वीररौद्राद्भुतबीभत्स-
भयानकेषु द्रुतः”

Kālidāsa in the fullness of his technical knowledge describes the love song of Mālavikā as appropriately set to the Madhyamakāla.

There is one other passage of Kālidāsa which calls for notice in this connection. In Raghuvamśa Canto. 1. Kālidāsa describes the sweet sounds or “Kekas” of peacocks.

मनोऽभिरामाः शृण्वन्तौ रथनेमिस्वनोन्मुखैः ।

षड्जसंवादिनीः केका द्विधा भिन्नाः शिखण्डिभिः ॥

R. I. 39.

That peacocks take the Ṣaḍja note is a piece of technical information but even the readers of Amara might know it. But it does not stop there.

It is said to be divided into two. How is that? Ṣaḍja and Pañcama are *prakṛtisvaras* or constant notes as distinguished from the other five notes. Ri, Ga, Ma, Da and Ni, which are *vikṛti svaras* or variable notes. "Sa and Pa" are therefore constant and indivisible. Therefore to be told that Ṣaḍja was divided into two is rather puzzling. Can it be that Kālidāsa had in mind the theory of Music that Ṣaḍja had four Sthānas?

चतुश्चतुश्चतुश्चैव षड्जपञ्चममध्यमाः ।

At first this is also baffling. If Ṣaḍja is a *Prakṛtisvara*, how can there be four notes in Ṣaḍja? The explanation is that Ṣaḍja for this purpose represents not a point but the entire interval in the octave between Niṣadha and Ṣaḍja and that four Śrutis or notes are discernible in the interval. If Kālidāsa had this in mind he would have said not "द्विधा भिन्नाः" but "चतुर्धा भिन्नाः"

But the true explanation is that it refers to a distinction called the Cyuta and Acyuta. The origin of this appears to me to lie in this that in vocal music when you want to take a particular note, you swing into it from a slightly lower note. Thus to take Ṣaḍja you will say "नी सा". The Ni is a passing note and leads to Sa. Therefore, Sa is Acyuta and Ni is Cyuta. It is by this process that the twelve Svarasthānas based upon the Saptasvaras would seem to have been originally evolved though they were later on fixed by the Ṣaḍja Pañcama Krama. Thus from the Kharaharapriya notes which were the original Saptasvaras, the other five notes were evolved, Kākali Niṣadha is Cyuta Ṣaḍja; Cyuta Rṣabha is Śuddha Rṣabha; Cyuta Pañcama is Pratimadhyama; and Cyuta Dhaivata is Śuddha Dhaivata. To sum up, instead of saying that the notes of the peacock were in the form of "नी सा" Kālidāsa adopting the theory of Music describes the "Kekas" as cast in the two Ṣaḍjas.

It is not my idea to be exhaustive of all musical references in Kālidāsa. My idea is far more to show that Kālidāsa possessed an advanced knowledge of the science of Music. But the subject matter of this paper does not stop there. It is not my purpose merely to show that Kālidāsa was learned in Music. He

was that ; but he was far more. Not merely did he write about music ; but what he wrote was itself music. His diction is musical ; his verses are musical ; in short he breathed music in whatever he wrote. To adopt the Vedic passage,

यस्य निश्चसितं वै गीतम् ।

In this connection we must study the diction of Kālidāsa and his Prosody. To take up diction first, Kālidāsa adopted the style which Ālaṅkārikas call the Vaidarbhi, as distinguished from the Gauḍīyā. The substance of the distinction for our purpose is that while the Gauḍīya style stands for alliteration, Prāsa, Anuprāsa, and so forth, and results in अक्षरडम्बर as Bāṇa puts it, the Vaidarbhi style is simple, lucid and well-balanced. Daṇḍin gives us instances in which the Gauḍīya style sacrifices real melody for the sake of alliteration, as for example the verse :

स्मरः खरः खलः कान्तः कायः कोपश्च नः कृशः ।

च्युतो मानोऽधिको रागो मोहो जातोऽसवो गताः ॥

Kālidāsa avoids this cacophony. His diction presents a harmonious blending of the sounds such as make for melody and sweetness.

Further, there is an appropriateness between sound and sense in the works of Kālidāsa. I shall quote some verses from the Kumārasambhava to illustrate my position. In the third canto Kālidāsa describes the Tapovana in which Lord Śiva was doing penance, then Śiva himself in the Virāsana, then Pārvatī, young and beautiful coming to attend on him, then Manmatha aiming an arrow at Śiva, and himself being consumed by the flames from Śiva's eye. All these pictures are vividly brought out in the flow of the verses. Firstly there is the still and solemn penance grove :—

निष्कम्पवृक्षं निभृतद्विरेफं

मूकाण्डजं शान्तमृगप्रचारम् ।

तच्छासनात्काननमेव सर्वं

चित्रार्पितारम्भमिवावतस्थे ॥ ४२ ॥

Then follow six stanzas describing Śiva in his Samādhi :—

पर्यङ्कबन्धस्थिरपूर्वकायं

ऋज्जायतं सन्नमितोभयांसम् ।

उत्ताप्तपाणिद्वयसंनिवेशात्

प्रफुल्लराजीवमिवाङ्गमध्ये ॥ ४५ ॥

भुजङ्गमोन्नद्धजटाकलापं

कर्णावसक्तद्विगुणाक्षसूत्रम् ।

कण्ठप्रभासङ्गविशेषनीलां

मृगतत्वचं ग्रन्थिमतीं दधानम् ॥ ४६ ॥

किञ्चित्प्रकाशस्तिमितोप्रतोरै-

भ्रूविक्रियायां विरतप्रसङ्गैः ।

नेत्रैरविस्पन्दितपक्षमालै-

र्लक्षीकृतघ्राणमधोमयूखैः ॥ ४७ ॥

अवृष्टिसंरम्भमिवाम्बुवाहम्

अपामिवाधारमनुत्तरङ्गम् ।

अन्तश्चराणां मरुतां निरोधा-

न्निवातनिष्कम्पमिव प्रदीपम् ॥ ४८ ॥

कपालनेत्रान्तरलब्धमार्गै-

ज्योतिःप्ररोहैरुदितैः शिरस्तः ।

मृणालसूत्राधिकसौकुमायां

बालस्य लक्ष्मीं ग्लपयन्तमिन्दोः ॥ ४९ ॥

मनो नवद्वारनिषिद्धवृत्ति

हृदि व्यवस्थाप्य समाधिवश्यम् ।

यमक्षरं क्षेत्रविदो विदुस्तम्

आत्मानमात्मन्यवलोकयन्तम् ॥ ५० ॥

These stanzas give us at once the impression of austerity and self-control. Next Pārvatī comes upon the scene.

आवर्जिता किञ्चिदिव स्तनाभ्यां

वासो वसाना तरुणार्करागम् ।

सुजातपुष्पस्तवकावनम्रा

सञ्चारिणी पल्लविनी लतेव ॥ K. III. 54.

स्रस्तां नितम्बादवलम्बमाना

पुनः पुनः केसरदामकाञ्चीम् ।

न्यासीकृतां स्थानविदा स्मरेण

द्वितीयमौर्वीमिव कार्मुकस्य ॥ ५५ ॥

सुगन्धिनिश्वासाविवृद्धतृष्णं

बिम्बाधरासनचरं द्विरेफम् ।

प्रतिक्षणं संभ्रमलोलदृष्टि-

लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती ॥ ५६ ॥

Finally Śiva becomes angry with Madana and then observe how the numbers flow :

तपःपरामर्शविवृद्धमन्यो-

भ्रूभङ्गदुष्प्रेक्षमुखस्य तस्य ।

स्फुरन्नुदर्चिः सहसा तृतीया-

दक्षः कृशानुः किल निष्पपात ॥ K. III. 71.

How Pārvatī herself was affected by this scene Kālidāsa describes dramatically in the 5th Canto.

असह्यङ्गकारनिवर्तितः पुरा

पुरारिमप्राप्तमुखः शिलीमुखः ।

इमां हृदि व्यायतपातमक्षिणोत्

विशीर्णमूर्तेरपि पुष्पधन्वनः ॥ K. III. 54.

I shall quote a few passages from the other works of Kālidāsa. In Mālavikāgnimitra, the following verse, describing a river with geese cackling, bears a striking consonance of sound and sense :

सरितमारसितादिव सारसात् । Māl. III. 6.

In the same drama, the descent of the hostile hosts is thus described :

तूणीरपट्टपरिवद्धभुजान्तराल-

मापार्णिलम्बिशिखिपिञ्छकलापधारि ।

कोदण्डपाणि विनदप्रतिरोधकाना-

मापातदुष्प्रसहमाविरभूदनीकम् ॥ Māl. V. 10.

At this description, Mālavikā is properly mentioned as scared. The verse in Raghuvamśa Canto. V, St. 64.

कन्याललाम क्रमनीयमजस्य लिप्सोः

° has soft melody and flow. Mr. Keith refers to the following verse, as specially appealing by the concordance of sound and sense.

असकंदेकरथेन तरस्विना

हरिहयाप्रसरेण धनुर्भृता ।

दिनकराभिमुखा रणरेणवो

रुरुधिरे रुधिरेण सुरद्विषाम् ॥ R. IX. 23.

Prof. Wilson has referred to the following passage in Vikramorvaśīyam as a very musical one.

गङ्गा रोधःपतनकलुषा गृह्णीव प्रसादम् । V. I. 9.

The only other matter that remains to be considered is Kālidāsa's prosody. Sanskrit prosody is probably the richest in the world. Its variety and range are without a parallel and here is therefore an opportunity for a master-mind to express itself most effectively by the selection of proper Vṛttas. It is not surprising therefore that Kālidāsa should have divined the secrets of Vṛttas and adopted them to appropriately express his sentiments. I shall give a few instances. The Mandākrāntā is now a popular Vṛttam but so far as we are able to gather its popularity is not anterior to Kālidāsa. It is mentioned by Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra but its name is given as “श्रीधरा”. It seems to me that Kālidāsa discovered the genius of this Vṛttam and used it aptly in the Meghasandēśa.

The movement of the Chandas is slow and majestic and is admirably suited to express the subdued pathos of the Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra. I shall quote some passages :

आधिक्षामां विरहशयने सन्निषण्णैकपार्श्वी

प्राचीमूले तनुमिव कलामात्रशेषां हिमांशोः ।

नीता रात्रिः क्षणमिव मया सार्धमिच्छारतैर्या

तामेवोष्णैर्विरहमहतीमश्रुभिर्यापयन्तीम् ॥ ९४ ॥

पादानिन्दोरमृतशिशिरान् जालमार्गप्रविष्टान्

पूर्वप्रीत्या गतमभिमुखं संनिवृत्तं तथैव ।

चक्षुः खेदात् सलिलगुरुभिः पक्षमभिश्छादयन्ती

साभ्रेऽह्नीव स्थलकमलिनीं न प्रबुद्धां न सुताम् ॥ ९७ ॥

Then again take the Vaitāliyam. This also appears to owe its recognition to Kālidāsa. It is not mentioned by Bharata in his list of popular Vṛttas. The tone of the Chandas is decidedly one of pathos ; and the two "Sa" gaṇas with which the metre opens followed by equal distribution of Laghus and Gurus give us the impression of two sobs followed by deep breathing. Kālidāsa uses this Vṛtta both in Kumārasambhava Canto. 4, when Rati weeps over the destruction of her husband, and in Raghuvaṃśa Canto. 8, where Aja sorrows over the death of his wife, Indumatī. I shall quote a few stanzas ;

उपमानमभूद्विलासिनां

करणं यत्तव कान्तिमत्तया ।

तदिदं गतमीदृशीं दशं

न विदीर्ये कठिनाः खलु स्त्रियः ॥ K. IV. 5.

शशिना सह याति कौमुदी

सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते ।

प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति

प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि ॥ K. IV. 33.

कलमन्यभृतासु भाषितं

कलहंसीषु मदालसं गतम् ।

पृषतीषु विलोलमीक्षितं

पवनाधूतलतासु विभ्रमाः ॥ R. VIII. 59.

त्रिदिवोत्सुकयाप्यवेक्ष्य मां

निहिताः सत्यममी गुणास्त्वया ।

विरहे तव मे गुरुव्यथं

हृदयं न त्ववलम्बितुं क्षमाः ॥ R. VIII. 60.

There is another Vṛttam of which the possibilities were shown by Kālidāsa. It is the Drutavilambitam. The flow of the verse suggests a lilt and liveliness, which are suited to express joy and bustle. Kālidāsa uses it in the 9th Canto where he describes the exploits of Daśaratha and the beauties of the spring season. I shall quote one verse by way of illustration :

कुसुमजन्म ततो नवपल्लवा-

स्तदनु षट्पदं कोकिलकूजितम् ।

इति यथाक्रममाविरभून्मधु-

द्रुमवतीमवतीर्य वनस्थलीम् ॥ R. IX. 26.

In this selection he has been followed by Bhāravi, Māgha and other writers of Mahākāvya, who also use the same Vṛttam to describe similar situations. Kālidāsa also used Yamakam in this verse and in this he was followed and even surpassed by his followers, who sometimes used Yamaka in all the four Pādas.

The following verse of Māgha may be cited:

नवपलाशपलाशवनं पुरः

स्फुटपरागपरागतपङ्कजम् ।

मृदुलतान्तलतान्तमलोकयत्

स सुरभिं सुरभिं सुमनोभरैः ॥

Śiś. VI. 2.

Kālidāsa uses the Mālinivṛtta also with great effect. The following verse describes Manmatha appearing before Indra :

अथ स ललितयोषिभ्रूलताचारुशृङ्गं

रतिवलयपदाङ्के चापमासज्य कण्ठे ।

सहचरमधुहस्तन्यस्तचूताङ्कुरास्त्रः

शतमखमुपतस्थे प्राञ्चलिः पुष्पधन्वा ॥

K. II. 64.

The flow of the verse is itself suggestive of the sense.

There is another Vṛttam to which I should refer *i. e.*, the Āryā. It is a Mātrāvṛttam and as such very flexible and musical ; and Kālidāsa uses it very freely in dramas, and the music of his verses is often at its best in this Chandas. I shall quote a few verses :

सुभगसलिलावगाहाः

पाटलसंसर्गसुरभिवनवाताः ।

प्रच्छायसुलभनिद्राः

दिवसाः परिणामरमणीयाः ॥ Ś. I.

अधरः किसलयरागः

कोमलविटपानुकारिणौ बाहू ।

कुटुममिव लोभनीयं

यौवनमङ्गेषु संनद्धम् ॥ Ś. I.

अपराधी नामाहं

प्रसीद रम्भोरु विरम संरम्भात् । V. II. 20.

Bhavabhūti had undoubtedly this passage in mind when he wrote in his *Mālatīmādhava* ;

सरले साहसरागं

परिहर रम्भोरु मुञ्च संरम्भम् ।

विरसं विरहायासं

सोढुं तव चित्तमसहं मे ॥ *Mālatīmādhava* VI. 10.

I must here conclude. I have shown that Kālidāsa is alike the poet of inspiration and of learning, that his technical knowledge of music is of a high order ; and that his diction and prosody are very musical. His verses have a charm even to the readers who do not know its sense ; and to one who knows the sense as well, there can be nothing to equal them. Bāṇa very correctly brings this out when he writes of Kālidāsa :

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।

प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

Since the days of Kālidāsa several poets of eminence have appeared in Sanskrit. In the other languages of India as well as in Non-Indian Languages such as Persian and English we have had other writers of distinction placed before us. But to those who are steeped in Indian culture and who have inherited the Indian ear there is none who can appeal so much as Kālidāsa. To them poetry without Kālidāsa will be like the night without moon, to adopt Kālidāsa's own verse,

नक्षत्रताराग्रहसंकुलापि

ज्योतिष्मती चन्द्रमसैव रात्रिः । R. VI. 22.

Let me express once again what I have already expressed once. Kālidāsa prays in the *Bhāratavākya* in *Śākuntala* that he might be freed from the bond of re-birth.

ममपि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः

पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥ S. VII.

Well might the admirers of Kālidāsa believe that the poet's prayer has been granted by Nīlakaṇṭha ; for the like of him the world has not seen.

LITERARY NOTES.

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संतप्तानां त्वमसि शरणं तत् पयोद प्रियार्याः

संदेशं मे हर धनपतिकोधविश्लेषितस्य ।

गन्तव्या ते वसतिरलका नाम यक्षेश्वराणां

बाह्योद्यानस्थितहरशिरश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्या ॥

(Megha. I, 7.)

This verse is a striking instance of the wonderful quality of Kālidāsa's poetic art which, by its power of concealing art and its suggestiveness, excercises the minds of the cultured readers, enlivens their imagination and delights them all the more when they discover the hidden meaning and merit. At the first cursory reading one is apt to skip it as being merely a prelude to the address of the Yakṣa to the cloud contained in the rest of the poem. That it embodies a fine poetic conceit will be apparent only on careful reading and reflection. It is pertinent, at the outset, to point out that it is natural that the Yakṣa, in order to persuade the cloud to undertake the task of conveying his message to his beloved in the distant city of Alakā, should make this out to be both a duty and a pleasure. The first half of the stanza, therefore, suggests the duty and the second half envisages the pleasure in store for him. By the use of the expressions "*Yakṣeśvarāṇām vasatiḥ*" and "*Nāma*", the poet indicates that the place of destination is a justly famous city of palaces and pleasures. But this is not enough to fully bring out the emphasis on the word 'TE' and the suffix 'TAVYA'. Hence, the poet arrests the attention of the reader in the last line by the use of one long *samāsa* and brings home to him the unique source of attraction and delight for the cloud in that city to which he must, necessarily, therefore, go, however distant it may be. There awaits him a sight nowhere to be had. To enjoy the beauty of the moonlight shining on the many mansions of Alakā

is, in itself, an inducement for all lovers of beauty. Those who have had the privilege of witnessing the wondrous vision of that "marvel in marble", the Taj at Agra, on a moon-lit night will readily realise what a feast of the eyes the Yakṣa is providing for his messenger. But this sight is denied to the unfortunate cloud ordinarily owing to the natural phenomenon that the cloud in the sky hides the moon and prevents the full play of the moon-light on beautiful mansions. In this city of Alakā, however, this artistic pleasure, he can enjoy to his heart's content, as the moon light there proceeds from the crest-moon of Śiva stationed in the outer gardens of the City. Therefore, the Yakṣa points out that the cloud in particular ought to go to that city for this proposed æsthetic enjoyment, which he cannot derive in other places.

Discussing the poetic merit of this last line of the stanza, the late lamented Prof. M. Rangachariar, a distinguished scholar, in his brochure entitled "The cloud messenger, a critical appreciation", says "I have no doubt that you can see in the last line here a beautiful blending of the super-sensuous with the sensuous. Does not the presence of Śiva there tend to give to Alakā the character of a holy place of pilgrimage so as thereby to make it easier for the Yakṣa to induce the cloud-messenger to go there on his nobly beneficent journey". Is it not more poetic to imagine that the Yakṣa would rather appeal to the cloud-messenger's artistic sense of taste and delight than merely to his religious emotions, and, thereby, try to reinforce the duty indicated in the first half of the stanza. In the previous verse the poet has called him "Kāmarūpa".

That this is not a mere fancy of mine but might in all probability have been intended by the poet is amply born out by the clear indication contained in the expression "त्वत्सरोधापगम-विशदैश्चन्द्रपादैः" in the sixth stanza of the Uttara-Megha. (Megha. II. 6.)

A similar idea has been explicitly outlined in the following śloka:

असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य

वसनदूरे किल चन्द्रमौलेः ।

तमिन्नपक्षेऽपि सह प्रियाभि-

र्ज्योत्स्नावतो निर्विशति प्रदोषान् ॥ R. VI. 34.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA AS A GUIDE TO A NEW WORLD-ORDER.*

BY

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It is not my purpose here to do battle against those who say that the Rāmāyaṇa is posterior to the Mahābhārata or to fix the date of the Rāmāyaṇa as late as possible to win the grudging approbation and applause of western savants. Suffice it to say here that we regard the Rāmāyaṇa as an Itihāsa which amplifies by way of सुहृत्संमित the commands of the Vedas. The story about the birth of the Rāmāyaṇa and about its being taught to Kuśa and Lava and about their reciting it in music before Śrī Rāma is one of the marvels of the world. No other race has given to the world such a genesis for poesy. Here and here alone was it declared that poesy is the child of pity. 'Pity melts the mind to love.' Winternitz says well about the Rāmāyaṇa : 'It is a true popular epic just like the Mahābhārata because like the latter, it has become the property of the whole Indian people, and, as scarcely any other poem in the entire literature of the world, has influenced the thought and poetry of the nation for centuries.' The Bhṛṅgacampū says well :

शुभमतनुत काव्यं स्वादु रामायणाख्यं

मधुमयमणितीनां मार्गदर्शी महर्षिः ॥

But it is not as such मार्गदर्शी (a guide to a new word-order) that I wish to speak to-day though the pageant of verse and thought in the Rāmāyaṇa is wonderful. I desire to speak about his being सुखमयजनतानां मार्गदर्शी महर्षिः (the guide to a new world-order). The most important of Vālmīki's teachings is the value of self-culture in the case of every man and every woman. We

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cannot effect any betterment of societies by mere improvement of the environment. It is through 'self-knowledge and self-reverence and self-control that we can attain sovereign power', and, what is even higher, self-realisation, by knowing and obeying the laws of God in the true spirit of Yajña or sacrifice.

The Rāmāyaṇa thus emphasises the fact that the discipline of the individual by Dharma is the only basis of individual happiness and corporate welfare. We must have a proper conception of human birth and human duty. Human birth is not an accident. Nor is human duty a mere threshold leading to physical pleasure. Śrī Rāma tells us in the Jābāli chapter : कर्मभूमिमां प्राप्य कर्तव्यं कर्म यच्छुभम् । The fundamental teaching in all our sacred books, and especially in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Gītā is that there is an immortal soul in the mortal body and that our vesture is at once a result of past Karma and a means of future auspicious (*śubha*) Karma. Dharma is what is good for the soul. Its dictates are meant for the welfare of the soul and of the body. Whenever the welfare of the soul and the desires of the body clash, a wise man would seek the welfare of the immortal soul rather than try to satisfy the unappeasable lusts of the flesh. Śrī Rāma says again that there is no inevitable clash between the good of the soul and the good of body. Just as a beloved wife is the centre of loveliness and love and links the generations each with each, even so Dharma in fruition is the source of Dharma Artha and Kāma.

धर्मार्थकामाः किल तात लोके

समीक्षिता धर्मफलोदयेषु ।

ते तत्र सर्वे स्युरसंशयं ये

भार्येव वश्याभिमता सुपुत्रा ॥ Ayodhyā.

This magic word "Dharma" comprises the whole gamut of Godward thought and speech and action and includes the Supreme Dharma of God-realization "अयं हि परमो धर्मो यद्योगेनात्मदर्शनम्". But with reference to the training and disciplining of the individual, we must limit its scope and know its ramifications so that it may cease to be a mere generic term and may be capable of being built into the immense variety of our everyday life. The most important of the elements of Dharma from

the point of view of acquisition early in life are *Brahmacarya* and *yoga* which are the vital elements of R̥sihood in life. Śrī Rāma says about himself :

नाहमर्थपरो देवि लोकमावास्तुमुत्सहे ।

विद्धि मामृषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममाश्रितम् ॥ (Ayodhyā 19, 20).

The Rāmāyaṇa goes even farther and says that for the attainment of these qualities there is another quality needed i. e., reverence to the parents.

न ह्यतो धर्मचरणे किञ्चिदस्ति महत्तरम् ।

यथा पितरि शुश्रूषा तस्य वा वचनक्रिया ।

पितुर्नियोगे स्थातव्यमेष धर्मः सनातनः ॥

(Ayodhyā. 109, 171).

The parents, and especially, the father, and then the preceptor are the guides to the child into the blessed realm of *Brahmacarya* and *yoga*. No youth movement and no revolt of modern youth can give us these vital elements of true uplift of soul, however much we may utter grandiloquent words about youth being out to solve the problems of humanity.

The high ethical qualities which are the sources of individual and racial uplift will be built into us by such *Brahmacarya* and *yoga*. By *Brahmacarya* we enable the body to become a fit temple for the soul and by *yoga* we fit the soul to commune with the Oversoul. These disciplines purify the body and the mind so well that the body becomes the abode of health and strength and power—a veritable storage-battery—and the mind becomes the abode of auspicious qualities. Both these aspects are brought out in a fine stanza in which Śrī Rāma describes his brother Bharata.

पद्मपत्रेक्षणो धीरः श्यामो निरुदरो महान् ।

धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धश्च ह्रीनिषेधो जितेन्द्रियः ॥

(Āraṇya. 16. 31).

Vālmiki has summed up all such auspicious qualities again and again in his descriptive sketches of Śrī Rāma's character. Desire to learn from and profit by the experience of the elders, truthfulness, compassion, tranquillity, self-respect, respect and love for others, forgiveness, self-control, composure of mind, charity of mind, gratitude and other traits are referred to by the poet-saint again and again.

स तु नित्यं प्रशान्तात्मा मृदुपूर्व च भाषते ।
 उच्यमानोऽपि परुषं नोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यते ॥
 कथंचिदुपकारेण कृतेनैकेन तुष्यति ।
 न स्मरत्यपकाराणां शतमप्यात्मवत्तया ॥
 शीलवृद्धैर्ज्ञानवृद्धैर्वयोवृद्धैश्च सज्जनैः ।
 कथयन्नास्त वै नित्यं..... ॥
 बुद्धिमान् मधुराभाषी पूर्वभाषी प्रियंवदः ।
 वीर्यवान्न च वीर्येण सहता स्वेन गर्वितः ॥
 आयकर्मण्युपायज्ञः संदृष्टव्यकर्मवित् ।
 न चावमन्ता भूतानां न च कालवशानुगः ॥

(Ayodhyā.)

It is the acquisition of these qualities that is the real basis of individual and national and universal welfare. Mere extension of the area of education, mere intensive specialisation by a few in this or that branch of science or art, mere multiplication of schools and colleges and Universities, and other achievements of the self-laudatory modern spirit are of no value in the eyes of God, unless they bring about the acquisition of the above qualities by the men and women of the nation. In modern life such qualities are relatively absent and are even decried. Everyday we see 'the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes' and the brutification of the superiors and the inferiors, the former by tyrannical disdain and the latter by soul-killing servility.

Of such qualities, the most valuable, the qualities most persistently stressed in the Rāmāyaṇa—are three qualities. The first is a resoluteness in doing one's duty in life whatever be the difficulties in the way and however unpleasant it be to the natural and seductive love of ease and luxury.

धर्मादर्थः प्रभवति धर्मात्प्रभवते सुखम् ।
 धर्मेण लभते सर्वं धर्मसारमिदं जगत् ॥
 आत्मनो नियमैस्तैस्तैः कर्शयित्वा प्रयत्नतः ।
 प्राप्यते निपुणैर्धर्मो न सुखाल्लभते सुखम् ॥

An Equally important trait is a consuming passion of affection for the people. What is all our education—nay, even our life worth, if altruism—love of others—is not the primary motive

force in our lives ? The Rāmāyaṇa stresses this quality of Premā or Maitrī again and again.

धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धश्च प्रजानां च हिते रतः ।

भवान् धर्मविनीतश्च विक्रान्तः सर्ववत्सलः ॥

It is the sublimation of these qualities that is meant by that quality which forms the keynote of the whole work and which is in keeping with the surging passion of tenderness from which the poem sprang. The Rāmāyaṇa emphasises with supreme insistence and persistence the duty of protecting those who seek refuge (शरणागतसंरक्षण). It goes without saying that the most famous of all the declarations of this duty comes from Śrī Rāma's own lips in those memorable sounds which have come ringing down the long corridor of Time

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते ।

अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद्भ्रतं मम ॥

I have already referred to the fact that the Rāmāyaṇa stresses the ideal that life is not a palace of physical pleasure but a period of probation preparing us for spiritual perfection. Let no one think for a moment that this is a grim and impossible ascetic ideal. Self-torturing asceticism is foreign to the genius of the Hindu race. Its ideal is to rise on the basis of Dharmic enjoyment to the supreme bliss of God-realization. I have already referred to the training and discipline of the individual. The next larger training ground is the family. The family ideal itself is indeed in danger to-day. The irresponsible and artificial nomads of civilisation resent all restraint and follow the cult of doing as one likes. The hotel is supplanting the homes and standardised tinned or hotel foods are taking the place of wholesome homely meals taken after offering the same to God. The men and women of to-day hand over the food to the cooks, the children to the nurses, the regulation of the household to the servants, the domestic dieties to the lumber room and themselves to pleasure. And yet what sort of pleasure is it ? The dull futilities and frivolities of club life, the equally dull inanities of the cinema and the theatre and the ballroom and the music hall, the costly parties where people combine smiling lips and aching hearts and utter pleasant lies to one's face and talk scandal behind one's back, the purposeless weekends and leisures where they carry their week's follies and talk shop and bore others and

get duly bored by them—these constitute the miserable modern substitute for the ancient well-ordered life in the home which was responsive alike to the laws of God and man. Men and women have to taste the sweets of social and industrial and political life without disrupting the basis of all social life *viz.*, the home.

Rabindranath Tagore has well called the Rāmāyaṇa, the epic of the household and the Mahābhārata, the epic of the civic and political life. In Rāmāyaṇa, we are taught that it is the individual whose entire nature is properly trained (and not merely a minor fraction of him as is the case to-day) and who has learnt well his first lessons in adjustment and affection within the sweet ambit of the family where there are no indifferent hearts or scowling looks and where the atmosphere is charged with the electricity of affection, who can be trusted to perform his duties in the larger realm of national and international life. I am not going to-day into the vexed question about the respective merits of early and late marriages or into any historical disquisition as to whether early marriage was unknown in ancient India. To-day Hindu India especially, the Brāhmin community, is sharply divided in its mind in regard to this matter and people are apt to lose their balance whenever the matter is brought up for discussion. The system by which the children choose their mates early in life through the eyes of their parents who know well the previous family record and the present good and bad habits and know how to combine youth and beauty with wisdom and welfare, by which the sexual urge is not allowed to rove about but is regulated to flow between the banks of legitimate desire and by which an inclination to mutual affection and idolisation and to get grafted into a new family is induced at a time when habits are yet in the course of formation has much in its favour even to-day. There are people here and elsewhere who think that communities which follow such a principle will be doing themselves spiritual good of a high order and would sublimate lust into love and love into devotion. But as I have said already, let us put aside these controversial topics. In the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, we are told that Sītā was all the dearer to Śrī Rāma because she was his father's most precious and well-chosen gift to him.

प्रिया तु सीता रामस्य दाराः पितृकृता इति ।

The verses in the poem descriptive of the marital ideal are full of noble and lofty thought.

इयं. सीता मम सुता सहधर्मचरी तव ।

• प्रतीच्छ चैनां भद्रं ते पाणि गृहीष्व पाणिना ॥

पतिव्रता महाभागा छायेवानुगता सदा ॥

The wife is thus described as the Sahadharamacarī. She is to be the helpmate of her lord in Dharma. She is to be his partner for life. Such disciplined natures full of lofty ideals and mutual reverence are sure to have the flame of pure affection lighted in their hearts. There is no logical or inevitable connection between early or late marriage and pure and passionate affection. It is the touch and contact of disciplined and pure natures that brings out the glow of marital affection. As Kālidāsa points out, it may well happen that in the case of self-chosen mates where the choosers do not have disciplined natures even the first glow of affection may become the denser darkness of later dislike. अज्ञातहृदयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौहृदम् . With the attainment of purification by discipline, the love of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā became a paradise regained in the place of a paradise lost. The verses in the Rāmāyaṇa descriptive of the pure mutual love of Rāma and Sītā are among the finest in the world's literature ; though their marriage was what would be called an early marriage.

मनस्वी तद्रतमना नित्यं हृदि समर्पितः ।

गुणारूपगुणाच्चापि प्रीतिर्भूयोऽप्यवर्धत ॥

तस्याश्च भर्ता द्विगुणं हृदये परिवर्तते ।

अन्तर्जातमपि व्यक्तमाख्याति हृदयं हृदा ॥

Sītā's unwavering loyalty to her lord and her readiness to follow him through good and ill fortune are among the finest portions of the poem.

आर्यपुत्र पिता माता भ्राता पुत्रस्तथा स्नुषा ।

स्वानि पुण्यानि मुञ्जानाः स्वं स्वं भाग्यमुपासते ॥

भर्तुर्भाग्यं तु भार्यैका प्राप्नोति पुरुषर्षभ ।

अतश्चैवाहमादिष्टा वने वस्तव्यमित्यपि ॥

न पिता नात्मजा नात्मा न माता न सखीजनः ।

इह प्रेत्य च नारीणां पतिरेको गतिः सदा ॥

• यदि त्वं प्रस्थितो दुर्गं वनमद्यैव राघव ।

अग्रतस्ते गमिष्यामि मृद्रन्ती कुशकण्टकान् ॥

यस्त्वया सह स स्वर्गो निरयो यस्त्वया विना ।

इति जानन् परां प्रीतिं गच्छ राम मया सह ॥

Equally fine are the verses describing Rāma's love for her. In the Sundarakāṇḍa we have many stanzas expressive of the mutual love of Rāma and Sītā.

अस्या देव्या मनस्तस्मिंस्तस्य चास्यां प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

तेनेयं स च धर्मात्मा मुहूर्तमपि जीवति ॥

दुष्करं कृतवान् रामो हीनो यदनया प्रभुः ।

धारयत्यात्मनो देहं न दुःखेनावसीदति ॥

तुल्यशीलवयोवृत्तां तुल्याभिजनलक्षणाम् ।

राघवोऽर्हति वैदेहीं तं चेयमसितेक्षणा ॥

नैषा पश्यति राक्षस्यो नेमान् पुष्पफलद्रुमान् ।

एकस्थद्वयया नूनं राममेवानुपश्यति ॥

स्वयं प्रहर्षं परमं जगाम

सर्वात्मना राममनुस्मरन्ती ।

The Rāmāyaṇa shows us further that the sexual aspect of love is not the be-all and end-all of existence. Woman has her duties in life just as man has his duties in life. In fact, the nature of pleasure is that the more consciously and intensely it is pursued the more unattractive becomes the pursuit and the more elusive becomes the attainment and the deeper is the revulsion of feeling due to satiety. If you plant the tree of union for the sake of the fruit of purity, the blossoms of pleasure bud and burge on of their own accord. The ideal wife is called Dharmapatnī. When Sītā expresses her resolute desire to follow him into the forests Rāma replies : अनुगच्छस्व मां भीरु सहधर्मचरी भव . This ideal of Sādharmacarī is made manifest by the way in which Sītā guides herself by the conduct of Rāma in relation to the other members of the family and to the world at large, say, in regard to the deligation of help and compassion (*Saraṇāgatarakṣaṇa*) which is the highest duty and privilege of life. When she is in distress in the Aśokavana and when Trijaṭā appeals to her on behalf of all the demonesses and says,

प्रणिपातप्रसन्ना हि मैथिली जनकात्मजा ।

अलमेषा परित्रातुं राक्षस्यो महतो भयात् ॥

She replies

ततस्ता ह्रीमती बाला भर्तुर्विजयहर्षिता ।

अवोचद्यदि तत्तथ्यं भवेयं शरणं हि वः ॥

It is only after such a discipline in individual life and family life that men and women are fit to play their part in social life and guide humanity into higher regions of self-expression and self-attainment. The ideal society is thus described even in the Mūla-Rāmāyaṇa,

प्रहृष्टमुदितो लोकस्तुष्टः पुष्टः सुधार्मिकः ।

निरामयो ह्यरोगश्च दुर्भिक्षभयवर्जितः ॥

The great traits of a great society are freedom from disease and famine and insecurity and other ills, happiness, contentment, prosperity and righteousness. These are the supreme tests by which every nation should be judged. The existence of multi-millionaires and proletariats and of devitalising luxury and equally devitalising unemployment is a blot on social life. The supreme test is, what is the national ideal, duty or pleasure? It is this contrast that is brought out in the Rāmāyaṇa by the grand description of Ayodhyā and the even grander description of Lāṅkā. In regard to Ayodhyā it is said :

कामी वा न कदर्यो वा नृशंसः पुरुषः कचित् ।

द्रष्टुं शक्यमयोध्यायां नाविद्वान्न च नास्तिकः ॥

सर्वे नराश्च नार्यश्च धर्मशीलाः सुसंयताः ।

उदिताः शीलवृत्ताभ्यां महर्षय इवामलाः ॥

But in regard to Lāṅkā, though we are told that it was set on hill-tops (लङ्कां गिरिवर्यमूर्ध्नि) and was waited upon by cool breezes from the ocean (सागरानिलसेवितां) and seemed to be a fair dream-creation (मनसेव कृतां) and appeared as if it was soaring heaven-wards (पुरमाकाशगामिव and खमिवोत्पतितां लङ्कां and दिवं संप्रस्थितामिव) we are told in the same breath that the ideal of the city was pleasure.

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थैस्तु पञ्च पञ्चभिरुत्तमैः ।

तर्पयामास मातेव लङ्का रावणपालिता ॥

In regard to the great cities in India and outside to-day, we can find out easily whether they approximate to the Ayodhyā type or the Lāṅkā type.

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I may point out also that civic amenities of a high order were well-known in ancient times in India. In regard to Ayodhyā it is stated it had broad, well-watered and flower-strewn streets.

राजमार्गेण महता सुविभक्तमहापथा ।

मुक्तपुष्पावकीर्णेन जलसिक्तेन सर्वशः ॥

(Bālakāṇḍa, 5, 8.)

We should also note that in the great epic age of India, when we had internal freedom and external power, there was a harmonised inter-dependence of hermitages and villages and cities. The rich and pure blood of national life surged from the heart *viz.*, the hermitage and coursed through the villages as the arteries and shone out in the towns and cities as the senses and the mind of the Bhāratamātā by expression in the fine arts and in scientific and philosophic thought and in social and political activity. Śrī Rāma's protection of the hermitages means and implies the purification and energising of the heart of the body politic. A very apt description of a hermitage is contained in the beautiful line तमाश्रमं पुण्यसुखं शरण्यम् (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, I, 131). I may mention here one other important matter. Those who follow the path of *dharma* may think that they can save their own skins and souls, even if the rest of the world becomes atheistic and unrighteous and anarchical. A greater piece of self-delusion cannot be imagined. It is sheer selfishness or supineness or both combined to think of the righteous way for ourselves and to let the world go to the dogs. We must never forget the truth contained in the following verse,

बहवः साधवो लोके युक्ता धर्ममनुष्ठिताः ।

परेषामपराधेन विनष्टाः सपरिच्छदाः ॥

At the same time Śrī Rāma's own conduct teaches us that the modern gospel of social improvement without any self-improvement or without any attempt at the improvement of one's own kith and kin is a thorough futility and a sham and a camouflage. Well has the Lord been described again in the following verses which occur in more than one place in the immortal epic.

रक्षिता स्वस्य वृत्तस्य स्वजनस्य च रक्षिता ।

रक्षिता जीवलोकस्य धर्मस्य च परंतपः ॥

Śrī Rāma is described also as the protector of the ideal of social groups in a state of interdependence and mutual service owing to their common love of Dharma.

रामो भामिनि लोकस्य चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य रक्षिता ।

मर्यादानां च लोकस्य कर्ता कारयिता च सः ॥

Such mutual harmony and service can come only by every one adoring and following the ideal without envious and fratricidal strife.

सर्वं मुदितमेवासीत्सर्वो धर्मपरोऽभवत् ।

राममेवानुपश्यन्तो नाभ्यर्हिसन् परस्परम् ॥

(Yuddhakāṇḍa 131-97.)

In regard to the political life, the Rāmāyaṇa points out the importance of the Governmental function in the growth of public welfare. The popular adage “*ராமனா ஸீட்டுவான் ஸீட்டுவான், ராவனா ஸீட்டுவான் ஸீட்டுவான்*”¹ is a mere piece of popular foolishness. We read in the Rāmāyaṇa that the labouring classes in Ayodhyā went with Bhārata to persuade Rāma to return and govern the state. In the well-known chapter containing the words *नाराजके जनपदे* at the beginning of each stanza and in the equally well-known *कच्चिदध्याय* (the chapter where each verse begins with the word *कच्चित्*), we have all the principles of state activity stated in a poetic way.

अराजके धनं नास्ति नास्ति भार्याप्यराजके ॥

नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तकाः ।

उत्सवाश्च सूमाजाश्च वर्धन्ते राष्ट्रवर्धनाः ॥

नाराजके जनपदे त्रिगिजो दूरगामिनः ।

गच्छन्ति क्षेममध्वानं बहुपण्यसमाचिताः ॥

नाराजके जनपदे स्वकं भवति कस्यचित् ।

मत्स्या इव नरा नित्यं भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् ॥

कच्चित्ते दयिताः सर्वे कृषिगोरक्षजीविनः ।

वार्तायां संश्रितस्तात लोको हि सुखमेधते ॥

आयस्ते विपुलः कच्चित् कल्पदक्षिपतरो व्ययः ।

अपात्रेषु न ते कच्चित्कोशो गच्छति राघव ॥

कच्चिदयर्ने वा धर्ममथ धर्मेण वा पुनः ।

1. What if Rāma rules or Rāvaṇa rules.

उभौ वा प्रीतिलाभेन कामेन च न बाधसे ॥
कच्चिदर्थं च धर्मं च कामं च जपतां वर ।
विभज्य काले कालज्ञ सर्वान् भरत सेवसे ॥

The kingly ideal of life is to seek what is the source of prosperity and happiness to the people.

किं समर्थं जनस्यास्य किं प्रियं किं सुखावहम् ।
इति रामेण नगरं पितृवत्परिपालितम् ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 57, 141.)

The Rāmāyaṇa shows us further that the people were consulted on all the important occasions. Their opinion was sought by Daśaratha when he proposed to make Rāma the *Yuva-Rāja* and entrust to him the administration of the state.

ब्राह्मणा जनमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदैः सह ।
समेत्य मन्त्रयित्वा तु समतागतबुद्धयः ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 2, 191.)

Another important fact is that the conquests of Rāma did not result in annexation of the conquered countries. Śrī Rāma sought to make the whole of India and Laṅkā a political unit by bringing all the territories within the scope of the federal idea. The freedom of the parts subject to guidance from the centre is of the essence of such federal idea. The dimensions of Kiṣkindhā and of Laṅkā were linked in righteousness with Ayodhyā and each of them was imbued with the strength of all by their becoming factors in a greater political unity and members of a great commonwealth of nations.

Such is the revelation by Vālmīki in regard to the proper world-order in the realm of practical life. Though his poem does not give us an exposition of the nature of the proper world-order in the realm of ideal life, we learn from it what should be the lines of development of education and literature and art and philosophy and religion which form the creative and divine elements in human life. I have already shown Vālmīki's fine idea about literature and art being based on the sweetness of our inner nature brought about by sympathy and insight. Literature should, with the aid of beauty of sentiment and utterance, vanquish sin and enthrone holiness and should be the ally of religion (इदं पवित्रं पापघ्नं पुण्यं वेदैश्च सम्मितम्). In regard to music, we get in the

Rāmāyaṇa very fine and vital ideals. It should be sweet in tone and expression and feeling मधुरं रक्तं संपन्नं स्वरसंपदा (Bālakāṇḍa, 10, 191). It can be sung in three scales (त्रिस्थानस्वरभूषितं) (Sundarakāṇḍa IV, 107). The poet describes also various excellences in the other fine arts and in various arts and handicrafts.

लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ॥

क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्वतकानि च ।

कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवा गृहकमेव च ॥

कृताश्च वैदूर्यमया विहङ्गा

रूप्यप्रवालैश्च तथा विहङ्गाः ।

चित्राश्च नाना वसुभिर्भुजङ्गा

जात्यानुरूपास्तुरगाः शुभङ्गाः ॥

काननैः कृत्रिमैश्चपि सर्वतः समलंकृतम् ॥

(Sundarakāṇḍa, 1).

The summit of such achievements in the realm of ideal life as related to practical life is religion. Without it human life is of the earth, earthy and is bounded by life and by death; with it, human life becomes boundless and is linked to heaven. When Jābālī Ṛṣi tries, out of his love for Rāma and his desire to see Rāma return to his hereditary throne to use the resources of materialistic logic, Rāma's anger comes out in a white jet of inner flame. The sage says :

.....नास्य कश्चिद्भि कस्यचित् ।

विहर त्वमयोध्यायाम्..... ।

स नास्ति परमित्येवं कुरु बुद्धिं महामते ।

प्रत्यक्षं यत्तदातिष्ठ परोक्षं पृष्ठतः कुरु ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 108)

This Jābālī is the world-teacher to-day. Each man for himself; enjoy life; there is no other world; the only real life is the life of the senses; what is unseen does not exist—that is the world-gospel by which men and women swear to-day. Śrī Rāma repudiates this want of vision and of faith.

बुद्ध्यनयैवंविधया चरन्तं

सुनास्तिकं धर्मपथादपेतम् ।

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 109).

He had already warned Bharata against Brāhmins who are materialistic in creed and lovers of pleasure in conduct.

कच्चिन्न लोकायतिकान् ब्राह्मणांस्तात सेवसे ।

अनर्थकुशला ह्येते बालाः पण्डितमानिनः ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100, 38).

Early rising and bath and cleanliness and godliness, the performance of Sandhyā (कर्तव्यं दैवमाह्निकं) the performance of meditation and mantras, such as *Bālā* and *Atibalā*, (सर्वज्ञानस्य मातरौ) the performance of other Saṁskāras and especially of Śrāddha which interlinks the generations each with each, the necessity of well-born children, the necessity of frequenting holy places and seeking the company of holy men, the importance of *tapas* and *yoga* and *bhakti* and *jñāna*, the nature of the Universe and of the soul and of God, and other aspects of the spiritual life, are expressly shown, though not elaborated in detail, in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Hindu race built its palatial ideal life on the foundation of a deep sense of the evanescence of earthly life.

नात्मनः कामकारोऽस्ति पुरुषोऽयमनीश्वरः ।

इतश्चेतरतश्चैनं कृतान्तः परिकर्षति ॥

सर्वे क्षयान्ता नियमाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।

संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥

Tapas and *Yoga* are the means leading to *Bhakti* and *jñāna* which lead to the immortality and eternity of Brahmic bliss. To-day *Bhakti* and *jñāna* are in a sad plight and in a state of death in-life despite glib declarations of creed (पुष्पितावाक्) because they have parted company with *tapas* and *yoga*. Śarabhaṅga is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as तस्य देवप्रभावस्य तपसा भावितात्मनः. Sutikṣṇa is described thus तमुग्रतपसा युक्तं महर्षिं सत्यवादिनम्. In the Bālākāṇḍa there occur the two following wonderful verses linking *tapas* and God.

तपोमयं तपोराशिं तपोमूर्तिं तपात्मकम् ।

तपसा त्वां सुतप्तेन पश्यामि पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

शरीरे तव पश्यामि जगत्सर्वमिदं प्रभो ।

त्वमनादिरनिर्देश्यस्त्वामहं शरणं गतः ॥

अहं वेद्मि महात्मानं रामं सत्यपराक्रमम् ।
 वसिष्ठोऽपि महातेजा ये चेमे तपसि स्थिताः ॥
 एष विग्रहवान् धर्म एष वीर्यवतां वरः ।
 एष बुद्ध्याधिको लोके तपसश्च परायणम् ॥

(Bālakāṇḍa.)

I wish to point out in conclusion that there is no value or worth in the modern self-boastful Indian scholarship which seeks to deplete the Rāmāyaṇa of its affirmation of Rāma as the incarnation of God and even attempts to depict him as a worldly-minded king with many wives or to exalt Rāvaṇa over Rāma. We can afford to let such puerilities stew in their own juice. The ultimate import—the esoteric significance of the Rāmāyaṇa is brought out in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa. But we should not imagine for a moment that the story is an allegory. It is an external fact and yet it suggests a spiritual realisation as well. By conquering the life of the ten senses we have to redeem the soul *Jñānaśakti* and bring the soul into a state of reversion with the oversoul.

तीर्त्वा मोहाटवीं लब्ध्वा रागद्वेषांश्च राक्षसान् ।
 शान्तिसीतासमायुक्तो ह्यात्मारामो विराजते ॥

Can we not and should we not try to bring a new world-order into being so that we may establish the kingdom of God upon the earth? Should we not and can we not try, as a preliminary to such a world-wide consummation, to bring a new order of life into being in India? Then alone will Bhūdevī and her beloved daughter Bhāratidevī (our beloved and beautiful Bhāratamātā) bless us and smile on us. To-day our Mother is in a state of pain and humiliation and even despair of spirit like Sītā in the Aśoka forest. If we are loyal to the ideals of *Brahmacarya*, *Yoga*, *Prema* and *Kainkarya*, if we keep up our sanctities and graces and felicities of marital life, if we subdue and overcome our communal discords and reattain the social and economic ideal of interdependence and harmony and mutual service, if our political life combines freedom and the federal idea, and if our life in the ideal realm is pure and lofty and attains the beatitudes of art and religion, then shall we enable our mother to reattain composure

and happiness and behold and converse with the Messenger of God.

तथागतां तां व्यथितामनिन्दितां
व्यतीतहर्षां परिदीनमानसाम् ।
शुभां निमित्तानि शुभानि भेजिरे
नरं श्रिया जुष्टमिवोपजीविनः ॥
सा वीतशोका व्यपनीततन्द्री
शान्तज्वरा हर्षविवृद्धसत्त्वा ।
अशोभतार्या वदनेन शुक्ले
शीतांशुना रात्रिरिवोदितेन ॥

(Sundarakāṇḍa.)

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

"SOME ASPECTS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT"—by
A. Sankaran, M. A., Ph. D. (Published by the University of
Madras, 1929). Price Rs. 1—12—0.

This is a thesis for the Doctorate of Philosophy in the University of Madras ; and it was, if we remember rightly, the first of its kind to be approved by that academic body. It deals with Sanskrit Poetics or *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* as it is called—a subject in which the Indian mind has achieved particular excellence. Its literature is vast; and, though the works that have been already published are numerous, there are many still awaiting publication. The theories propounded in them are diverse—as many as eight of them being of distinctive importance according to our author. The most important of these theories is that contained in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana, a work of the 9th century, A. D. It is known as the theory of *dhvani* or 'suggestiveness' which is based upon the view that what we may call the poetic ultimate is essentially incommunicable and can at best be only suggested. The present thesis treats of its subject with special reference to this work. The *Dhvanyāloka* is not to be regarded as merely a treatise on empirical æsthetics as several others are ; for it develops its views in close connection with philosophical theories, raising now and again questions like the logical status of verbal testimony and the psychological basis of *śānta-rasa*. Another feature in which it differs from the common run of *Alaṅkāra* works is that the theory which it enunciates, though in the first instance intended to explain the method and aim of poetry, is equally applicable to all forms of fine arts. This is indicated by Ānandavardhana's own references to other arts like music for purposes of illustration. It is also clear from the nature of *dhvani* itself; for the means of suggestion need not be confined to linguistic forms, but may extend beyond to the media employed in arts other than poetry. Features such as these show that the *Dhvanyāloka* is a difficult work to comprehend; and the difficulty is considerably increased by the imperfect character of the only edition of it published so far. But our

author brings to its study a mind adequately equipped both in literature and philosophy. He also possesses the care and patience necessary for the examination of manuscript material incidental to such inquiries. The result is an essay which contains many well-tested facts and inferences, all set forth in a lucid manner. It is not merely on the expository side that its excellence lies but also on the historical and critical sides. In all these respects the thesis, though comparatively brief, goes deeper than any modern work we know on the subject. Of the several questions of interest considered here, we may mention one in particular, *viz.*, the relation between the principles of *rasa* and *dhvani*. The point is discussed at considerable length and its elucidation is a valuable contribution to the study of the subject. The thesis which represents apparently the first effort of its author, gives promise of much valuable work by him in the field of Sanskrit research.

M. HIRIYANNA.

,'ORIENTAL TIT-BITS IN ENGINEERING"—by M. G. Singariyengar, A. M. Tech. I (Cr. Br.), Bangalore, 1930. Price As. 8.

This is an interesting booklet on a subject which does not seem to have yet attracted the attention of the orientalist. We have systematic treatises on some practical arts of ancient India like medicine by servants like Jolly, but none so far on engineering. The work under review does not profess to be such a treatise. It only aims at showing, by giving samples of the information that may be collected, how much useful knowledge lies hidden in old books and even in folk-songs. The author, who is an Engineer in the service of the Mysore state, has brought together here a score of 'tit-bits' on the subject in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese. He has transliterated them and translated them into English and has also added notes pointing out in particular the engineering wisdom they enshrine. The topics are quite varied and range from 'strength of earthen bunds' to 'modes of testing wood.' We learn from the Preface that the author has printed here only some of the sayings he has collected; and it seems to us that he may well publish the rest

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of them also. We hope that he will, by his publications, succeed in inducing some scholar with antiquarian interests to undertake a methodical investigation of the subject.

M. HIRIYANNA.

ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN. Oriental Book-seller and Publisher, 41—Great Russell Street, London W. C. I., will publish in the course of this year *Mohenjo-daro* and the Indus Civilisation by Sir John Marshall in three volumes.

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Studies in Tamil Literature and History

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(Published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., London.)

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यौग—अये ! हंसको दिष्टया वेषान्तरेणायमागतः ; कार्यविशेषो विद्यत इति नूनम् । (प्रकाशम्) किमस्ति प्राणधारणोपायः ?

हंस—^१(आत्मगतम्) विदिदो हि । (प्रकाशम्) धीरो खु अभ्यो !

यौग—अल्पैरक्षरैरनल्पमुक्तम् ।

हंस—^२अय्य !

यौग—तिष्ठ तावत् । बहूपह्वरमिदं स्थानम् । कर्णे कथय ।

हंस—^३अय्य ! तह । (कर्णे) एवं विअ ।

यौग—हा स्वामिन् ! (इति मोहमुपगतः)

हंस—(उदकेन मुखमवसिच्य)^४ समस्ससदु समस्ससदु अज्जो ।

यौग—(प्रत्यागत्य) हा देव ! (इति पुनर्मोहमुपगतः)

हंस—^५समस्ससदु समस्ससदु अय्यो ।

यौग—(प्रत्यागत्य)

धिञ्छान्त्रिणो धिक्प्रभुशक्तिमत्त्वं

धिङ्नीतिशास्त्रं धिगुपायचिन्ताम् ।

न विद्यते किञ्चन जीवलोके

प्रत्यर्थिभूतं भवितव्यतायाः ॥

हंस—^६सुणाहि सव्वम् ।

१. विदितोऽस्मि । धीरः खल्वार्यः !

२. आर्य !

३. आर्य तथा । एवमिव ।

४. समाश्वासयतु समाश्वासयत्वार्थः ।

५. समाश्वासयतु समाश्वासयत्वार्थः ।

६. शृणु सर्वम् ।

यौग—(उत्थाय) कथयतु भवान् कथयतु । अथवा आगच्छ चन्दनमण्डपे
विश्वस्तः तत्रैव निःशङ्कं श्रोष्यामः ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

यौग—भो ! मया मोहमुपगतेन न खलु मन्त्रस्त्रावि वचनमुक्तम् ?

हंस—^१णत्थि किञ्चित् ।

यौग—दिष्टया !

हंस—^२अय्य पविट्ठं चन्दणमण्डवम् ।

यौग—

अस्त्रेणेन्द्रजिता प्रसह्य समरे यद्रामरामानुजौ

बद्धावित्यवदन्महर्षिवृषभो वाल्मीकिराद्यः कविः ।

बन्धात्प्रत्ययितं तदद्य नृपतेः पूर्णस्य सर्वैर्गुणै-

दैवं मुख्यतमं नयादि सकलं खेदावहं केवलम् ॥

(उपविश्य) भो हंसक ! गाढप्रहारप्रवृद्धमूर्च्छाप्रवासितस्मृतिः स्वामी बद्ध
इति शङ्के ।

हंस—^३अय्य ! अण्णहा कहं भविस्सदि ? मए उण मत्थअल्लद्धखग-
प्पहारेण चिरेण सुण्णं उवळ्ळंभिअ बंधिअ णीअमाणो दिट्ठो ।

यौग—बद्धा नीयमानो दृष्टः ! भोः !

मयि जीवति नाम वत्सराजो

गतपा (गजपा) वारणराजदीर्घबाहुः ।

१. नास्ति किञ्चित् ।

२. आर्य ! प्रविष्टं चन्दनमण्डपम् ।

३. आर्य ! अन्यथा कथं भविष्यति । मया पुनः मस्तकलब्धखड्गप्रहारेण
चिरेण शून्यमुपलभ्य बद्धानीयमानो दृष्टः ।

वशतामविशदूषिषां जनानां

किमतः कष्टतरं नु नाम लोके ॥

हंस—^१ तदो तर्हि एव पाणं परिच्युतं ववसिदोवि अय्यस्स इमं वुत्तन्तं
भणिअ मरिस्सं त्ति आअदो द्वि ।

यौग—अतीव कर्तव्यमनुष्ठितं भवता । कुतः ?

आदौ यथा प्रवृत्तं

कार्यं लोकैरसंविदितमेव ।

शक्यं यथानुरूपं

प्रतिपत्तुं वञ्चयित्वान्यान् ॥

हंस—^२ अदो एव मए वेसपरिवट्टो किदो ।

यौग—साधु कृतम् ! अपि जानीषे क नु खलु वर्तते स्वामी ?

हंस—^३ उज्जयिणीं एव णीदो त्ति तक्केमि ।

यौग—कथमिव ?

हंस—^४ सुदं मए साळंकाअणवअणं सवअणं (सावहाणं ?) “सूरा णीदीमन्तो
वच्चराअस्स सइवा ; ता सिग्धं उज्जइणी एव गंतव्वा” त्ति ।

यौग—हा कष्टम् !

१. ततः तत्रैव प्राणान् परित्यक्तुं व्यवसितोऽपि आर्यस्थेयं वृत्तान्तं भणित्वा
मरिष्यामीति आगतोऽस्मि ।

२. अत एव मया वेषपरिवर्तः कृतः ।

३. उज्जयनीमेव नीत इति तर्कयामि ।

४. श्रुतं मया सालङ्कायनवचनम् (सावधानं ?) “सूरा नीतिमन्तो
वत्सराजस्य सचिवाः । तच्छीघ्रम् उज्जयिन्येव गन्तव्या” इति ।

शूरा वयं किल वयं किल नीतिमन्तो

यातः संपन्नवशतामवशः पतिर्नः ।

तस्यैव वा वचनमस्तु तथैव पुंसां

शौर्यं नयश्च महति व्यसने प्रथेते ॥

हंस—^१ अय्य ! तारिसं परिभवं अणुभविअ मिस्सदि ण खु भट्टा ?

यौग—मा मेवम्, पश्य ।

अन्तर्निगूढामर्षाणां तेजःसत्त्वक्षमावताम् ।

नास्त्यसह्यतरं दुःखं महतां धैर्यशालिनाम् ॥

हंस—^२ उज्जयिणीं गदस्स भट्टिणो ण हु किञ्चि अणिठ्ठं भवे ?

यौग—तत्रापि नास्त्यपायः ।

हंस—^३ कहं विअ ?

यौग—अस्मत्स्वभावानभिज्ञतया स्वामिनं प्रत्यपायेऽसति रुमण्वतो मम वा
प्रद्योतं विना नास्त्यन्या गतिरित्याशङ्कमानः तत्रभवान् भरतरोहकः
सर्वप्रकारेण स्वामिनं परिपालयिष्यति ।

हंस—^४ एवं होदु ।

यौग—(विचिन्त्य) हंसक ! त्वमिदानीं नगरान्निष्क्रम्य स्वेनैव वेषेण हतो
राजेति प्रकाशयन्नागत्य निवेदय ।

हंस—^५ अय्य ! तह । (निष्क्रातः)

१. आर्य ! तादृशं परिभवमनुभूय मृष्यति न खलु भर्ता ?
२. उज्जयिनीं गतस्य भर्तुर्न खलु किञ्चिदनिष्टं भवेत् ?
३. कथमिव ?
४. एवं भवतु ।
५. आर्य ! तथा ।

यौग—(पत्रं लेखनीं च आदाय सचिन्तम्) रुमण्वता राज्ञा चेमान्यक्षराणि
प्रबुध्यन्ते नान्यैः, अतो लेखविसंवादे सत्यपि नास्ति मन्त्रभेदः ।
(लिखित्वा संवेष्टय) कोऽत्र भोः ?

पुरुषः (प्रविश्य)—' जेदु जय्यो ! अहं दओ (करमओ ?) ।

यौग—अद्य खल्विहागमिष्यति रुमण्वानिति श्रूयते । शीघ्रमेव लेखं तस्मै प्रापय ।

पुरु—^२ अय्य ! तह । (गृहीत्वा निष्क्रान्तः)

यौग—लिखितं च यथा कर्तव्यं रुमण्वतः । सुष्ठु खल्वहं चक्षुर्मोहिनीं विद्या
जानामि । अतः—

विमोह्य नेत्राणि तथा जनानां
प्रविष्टवद्वारुचितां प्रदीप्ताम् ।

गत्वा पुरीमुज्जयिनीं पतिं मे
विमोचयिष्यामि नयेन शत्रोः ॥

कष्टं नाम । किं नाम मे मुखान्निर्गतम् । कोऽहम् ? कः स्वामी ?

सिंहा यथा परपराक्रमसाधितानि
खादन्ति नैव पिशितानि बुभुक्षयार्ताः ।
दुःखे महत्त्यपि तथैव परेण लब्धान्
वाञ्छन्त्यसूनपि न मानधना महान्तः ॥

अतः प्रद्योतं वञ्चयित्वा स्वामिनो यथाभीष्टकारी भविष्यामि ।

प्रतीहारी—(प्रविश्य) ^३ जेदु अय्यो ! भट्टिणो उपज्झाओ हंसओ रुदंतेहिं
जणेहिं परिवुदो दुवारे चिठ्ठिदि ।

१.. जयत्वार्यः ! अहम्— (करमकः ?)

२. आर्य ! तथा

३. जयत्वार्यः ! भर्तुरुपाध्यायो हंसको रुदद्भिर्जनैः परिवृतो द्वारे
तिष्ठति ।

यौग—किं किं तन्ना(तेना?)गतम् । अहमेवैनं प्रत्युद्गमिष्यामि ।

(उत्थाय पारिक्रामतः)

प्रती—^१ अय्य ! आअदं ह्य चोणीरगोरअं (?) ।

यौग—भवति ! त्वमिदानीमभ्यन्तरं प्रविश ।

प्रती—^२ अय्य ! तह (निष्क्रान्ता) ।

(ततः प्रविशति साश्रुहंसकः नगराध्यक्षश्च)

हंस—^३ अय्य ! हदो दे भट्टा पज्जोदस्स वळेहिं णीळणाअव्ववदेसेण
(इति पादयोः पतति)

यौग—हा स्वामिन् ! हा सखे ! (मोहमुपगत इव)

अध्यक्षः—समाश्वासयतु ।

यौग—(प्रत्यागत्येव) धिगद्याप्यहं जीवामि । अस्थाने मामपास्य गतो भर्ता ।

विहाय मां यद्यपि देव यातो

दिङ्मागजेन्द्रग्रहणाय नाकम् ।

अथाप्यहं त्वामनुयाम्यवश्यं

चितां प्रविश्यामि विधूतपाप्मा ॥

अध्यक्षः—इदानीं खलु वयं विनष्टाः ।

यौग—भो हरिवर्मन् !

अध्यक्षः—आज्ञापय ।

यौग—गच्छ त्वं शीघ्रं यमुनातीरे चितां कारय ।

अध्यक्षः—प्रसीदत्वार्यः । नार्हति भवानस्मान् विनाथीकर्तुम् ।

१. आर्य ! आगताः स्मः चतुर्द्वारगोचरम् (?)

२. आर्य ! तथा ।

३. आर्य ! हतस्ते भर्ता प्रद्योतस्य बलैः नीलनागव्यपदेशेन ।

यौग—अनिश्चितमपि मया प्रोक्तपूर्वम् ?

अध्यक्षः—हन्त ! त्यक्ता एव वयम् । (रुदन्निष्क्रान्तः)

हंस—^१ अय्य ! किं एदं ?

यौग—उज्जयिनीमहं यास्यामि ।

हंस—^२ जइ अय्यो गओ णिस्संसअं रुमण्णो वि तहिं आगमिस्सदि ।

यौग—ततः किम् ?

हंस—^३ पविट्ठो भवे एत्थ पंचालो ।

यौग—पिङ्गळादयस्तं निवारयिष्यन्ति ।

हंस—^४ जुद्धं णाम अणिअभजअत्तेविणं रक्खिदव्वा (?) ।

यौग—समानवंश्या ननु राज्ञो रिपवः ।

हंस—^५ मए उण किं कादव्वं ?

यौग—यद्गुमण्वता प्रोक्तम् ।

ब्राह्मणः—(प्रविश्य) स्वस्ति भवते ! सर्वाः प्रकृतयस्तत्रागमनमिच्छन्ति ।

यौग—किं स्वामिनः समीपे ?

ब्राह्म—न हि । राजभवने ।

यौग—निवृत्त इदानीं राजभवनव्यापारः ।

ब्राह्म—तथापि ननु सन्ति तस्य त्रयो भ्रातरः ।

यौग—किं तैः ?

ब्राह्म—तेषामेकं राज्येऽभिषिच्य प्रद्योतवैरनिष्क्रयः कर्तव्यः । न चिता प्रवेष्टव्येति प्रकृतिजनानां सन्देशः ।

१. आर्य किमेतत् ?

२. यद्यार्यो गतः निस्संशयं रुमण्वानपि तदा अगमिष्यति ।

३. प्रविष्टो भवेदत्र पाञ्चालः ।

४. युद्धं नाम अनियतभद्रम् ; आत्मापि नूनं रक्षितव्यः (?)

५. मया पुनः किं कर्तव्यम् ?

यौग—नान्यत् ।

ब्राह्म—दुःखं ननु चित्ताप्रवेशः ।

यौग—तस्मादपि दुःखतरं स्वामिनो वियोगः ।

ब्राह्म—रक्षितव्या ननु प्राणाः ।

यौग—ततोऽपि प्रतिज्ञा ।

ब्राह्म—बन्ध्यो ननु निष्कारणजीवितत्यागः ।

यौग—भर्तृदर्शनहेतुत्वादबन्ध्यः ।

ब्राह्म—अनियतं हि तत् ।

यौग—अनिश्चितानामेतत् ।

ब्राह्म—सन्दिग्धा ननु परलोकाः ।

यौग—निस्सन्दिग्धा मम ।

ब्राह्म—न शक्याम्यहमतः परं वक्तुम् ।

हंस—^१ अलं, गच्छदु अय्यो । ण सक्कं परिस्समेण अण्णहा कादुम् ।

ब्राह्म—भोः ! तथा (निष्क्रान्तः) ।

नगराध्यक्षः—(प्रविश्य) आर्य ! कृतं यथाज्ञप्तम् ।

यौग—अहो ! प्रियं कृतम् ।

(उत्थाय सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

हंस—^२ अहो ! भट्टिणो उवारि अणुराओ पक्किडिजणाणं, णत्थि मुह (हं)
अबंफदुट्ठिणं ।

यौग—सम्यगाह भवान् । इयं हि—

१. अलं, गच्छत्वार्थः । न शक्यं परिश्रमेण अन्यथा कर्तुम् ।

२. अहो ! भर्तृरूपि अनुरागः प्रकृतिजनानाम्, नास्ति मुखम् अब्राह्मदुर्दिनम् ।

TOLKĀPPIYAM.

SECTION II.

Collatikaram (Morphology and Syntax.)

i. *Kiḷaviyākkam*.¹

1. உயர்திணை யென்மனார் மக்கட் ஈட்டே
 அஃறிணை யென்மனா ரவரல பிறவே
 ஆயிரு திணையி னிசைக்குமன சொல்லே.
Uyartiṇai yeṇmanār makkaṭ cuttē
Aḥriṇai yeṇmanā ravarala pīravē
Āyiru tiṇaiyi nicaikkumaṇa collē.

Uyartiṇai is that which denotes human beings; and all the rest is *aḥriṇai*. *Col* (word) is used in either.

Note 1.—The words *yeṇmanār* in the first two lines clearly indicate that the technical terms *uyartiṇai* and *aḥriṇai* were adopted by Tolkāppiyāṇār from the works of the earlier grammarians.

Note 2.—Even though there are three sentences in the *sūtra*, yet the *sūtra* should be construed as having only *one* subject or *uddēśya* and only *one* predicate or *vidhēya*. The subject is *col* and the predicate is *āyirutiṇaiyiṇ icaikkum* (i. e. *uyartiṇai* and *aḥriṇai*).

Note 3.—The reading found in *Iḷam.* and *Nac.*² is *icaikkuman* instead of *icaikkumaṇa*.

Note 4.—*Teyvaccilaiyār* takes *icaikkumaṇa* to be a verbal noun of the type *ceymmana* mentioned in *sūtra* 222.

Note 5.—*Collatikāram* consists of 9 chapters:—*Kiḷavi-y-ākkam*, *vērrumai-y-iyal*, *vērrumai-mayaṇkiyal*, *viḷi-marapu*, *peyariyal*, *viṇai-y-iyal*, *iṭai-y-iyal*, *uri-y-iyal* and *ecca-v-iyal*. Of these the first four deal with the *formation of sentences*: the first with the concord of the subject and the predicate; the second with the meanings of all cases except the vocative; the third mostly with functional syncretism; and the fourth with the use of the vocative case. The first *five* *sūtras* in *peyariyal* deal with

1. This chapter deals with the concord of the subject and the predicate in sentences and the sanction of irregular usage.

2. *Iḷam.* = *Iḷampūraṇam*; *Nac.* = *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyam*; *Cēṇā.* = *Cēṇā-varaiyam*; *Tey.* = The commentary by *Teyva-c-cilaiyār*.

he definition of *col* and its classification, and the remaining sūtras with *peyar* or noun; *Vinaiyiyal*, *Itaiyiyal* and *Uriyiyal* respectively deal with *vinai* or verbs, *itai-c-col* or suffixes and particles and *uri-c-col* or roots; and the last deals with miscellaneous topics:—native words, borrowed words, compounds etc.

2. ஆளு வறிசொல் மகளு வறிசொல்
பல்லோ ரறியுஞ் சொல்லொடு சிவணி
அம்முப் பாற்சொ லுயர்திணை யவ்வே.
Āṭūṇi varicol makaṭūṇi varicol
Pallō rariyuñ colloṭu civaṇi
Ammuṭ pārcō luyartiṇai yaṁvē.

Uyartiṇai-c-col is of three kinds :—*āṭūṇi-v-aṛi-col* or word of the masculine singular, *makaṭūṇi-v-aṛi-col* or word of the feminine singular and *pallōr-aṛiyuñ-col* or word of the epicene plural (masculine-feminine, masculine, and feminine, plural).

Note 1.—Though, in the sūtra, *ammu-p-pārcol* and *uyartiṇaiya* are respectively the subject and the predicate, yet they have to be reversed in the interpretation of the sūtra, since this sūtra deals with the classification of *uyartiṇai* mentioned in the previous sūtra.

Note 2.—*Civaṇi* in the sūtra is taken by Teyvaccilaiyār to mean *along with*; while the other commentators take it to be an indeclinable past participle of the type *ceytiṇi*. In the former interpretation, the word should be taken to have been added simply for the sake of metre, since its meaning is expressed by *oṭu* in *colloṭu*.

Note 3.—It is worth noting that, in the classification of words in Tamil language, *gender and number go together* (i. e., there are not suffixes to denote gender and number separately, but *one and the same suffix denotes both gender and number*) and that there are not separate forms to denote the masculine, and the feminine, plurals. For example ‘*n*’ in ‘*avan*’ denotes not only the masculine gender, but also the singular number.

3. ஒன்றறி சொல்லே பலவறி சொல்லென்
ரூயிரு பாற்சொ லஃறிணை யவ்வே.
Onrari collē palavarī collen
Rāyiru pārcō laḥriṇai yaṁvē.

Aḥriṇai-c-col is of two kinds:—*onrari-col* or word of the neuter singular and *pala-v-aṛi-col* or word of the neuter plural.

4. பெண்மை சுட்டிய வுயர்திணை மருங்கின்
ஆண்மை திரிந்த பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவியுந்
தெய்வஞ் சுட்டிய பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவியுந்
இவ்வென வறியுமந் தந்தமக் கிலவே
உயர்திணை மருங்கிற் பால்பிரிந் திசைக்கும்.
Peṇmai cuṭṭiya uyartiṇai maruṅkin
Āṇmai tirinta peyarnilaik kiḷaviyun
Teyvañ cuṭṭiya peyarnilaik kiḷaviyum
Ivveṇa variyuman tantamak kiḷavē
Uyartiṇai maruṅkiṇ pālpirin ticaikkum.

Word denoting a hermaphrodite with more of feminine traits which belongs to *uyartiṇai* and words denoting gods do not have a separate suffix, but take the suffix of the *pāls* of *uyartiṇai*.

Ex. *Pēṭi vantāl*, *pēṭiyar vantār*; *tēvaṇ vantān*, *tēvi vantāl*; *tēvar vantār*, *tēviyar vantār*.

Note.—The need for this sūtra is this :—From sūtra 1, the word *pēṭi* which denotes a hermaphrodite is *uyartiṇai*, since it denotes *makkaḷ* or human being; but since a *pēṭi* is neither a pure male nor a pure female, the word denoting it cannot be taken either as *āṇpāl* or as *peṇpāl* from sūtra 2. As regards the words denoting gods, they will have to be classified as *aṣṟiṇai* on the strength of sūtra 1 which says that all but those that denote human beings are *aṣṟiṇai*; But this sūtra expresses that the word denoting hermaphrodite may be used in *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl* and the words denoting gods may be used also in *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl*.

The word *pēṭi* cannot be used in *āṇpāl* according to sūtra 12. But some commentators like *Ḵampūraṇar* have stated that it was used in *āṇpāl* also, though rarely.

5. னஃகா நொற்றே யாடுஉ வறிசொல்.

Naṣkā norrē yāṭūu varicol.

Āṭūu-v-aricol has 'n' at its end.

Ex. *Pāṇṭiyan*, *avaṇ*, *uṇṭān*, *kariyan*.

Note 1.—Though this sūtra appears to mean that the *āṭūu-v-aricol* is 'n', it should be taken to mean that *āṭūu-v-aricol* has 'n' at its end, since sūtra 10 says that n, l etc. mentioned in sūtras 5, 6 etc. are suffixes and n, l etc. by themselves cannot denote male or female except when they stand as suffixes in words,

Note 2.—This sūtra and the following four sūtras suggest a *paribhāṣā* that, if a suffix is mentioned in a sūtra, it suggests the word with that suffix. (cf. *Pratyayagrahaṇē tadantagrahaṇam grāhyam* in Sanskrit.)

6. னஃகா நெற்றே மகரூ வறிசொல்

Naḥkā norrē makatūu varicol.

Makatūu-v-aricol has '!' at the end.

Ex. Tiruviṇāl, aval, uṇṭāl, kariyal.

7. றஃகா நெற்றும் பகா விறுதியு

மாரைக் கிளவி யுளப்பட மூன்று
நேரத் தோன்றும் பலரறி சொல்லே.

Rḥkā norrum pakara virutiyu
Māraik kilavi yulappata mūnru
Nērat tōnrum palarari collē.

Words which are invariably *palar-ari-col* are those that end with *r*, *pa* or *mār*.

Ex. Nampiyar, avar, uṇṭār, kariyar; uṇpa; tāymār, koṇmār.

Note 1.—The word *nērat-tōnrum* in the sūtra suggests that these three suffixes exclusively denote the epicene plural, while there are others like *kum*, *ṭum*, *tum*, *rum* mentioned in sūtra 202 which are suffixed not only to *palar-ari-col* but also to verbs having for their subjects, first personal pronoun and *aṣṟiṇai* nouns together according to sūtra 209. For example in the sentence 'yānum eṇ eṣkamum cārum' (I myself and my weapon are sufficient), the subject of *cārum* is *yān* and *eṣkam* where *eṣkam* is *aṣṟiṇai*.

Note 2.—'R' in 'tāymār' does not denote the epicene plural as 'r' in 'tāyār', but the whole *mār* does it. Hence *mār* finds separate mention in the sūtra.

Note 3.—The word *tōnrum* in the sūtra is taken by Iḷam-pūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār as the finite verb; while Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar take it as the present relative participle qualifying *palar-ari-col*; the latter is better.

8. ஒன்றறி கிளவி தறட ஆர்ந்த

குன்றிய லுகரத் திறுதி யாகும்.

Onrari kilavi tarata vūrnta

Kunriya lukarat tiruti yākum.

Onrari-col has *tū*, *rū* or *ṭū* at the end.

Ex. Āṣtū, onrū, iranṭū, uṇṭatū, kūyirrū, kuṇṭukaṭṭū; karitū.

9. அஞ் வளன வருஉ மிறுதி
அப்பான் மூன்றே பலவறி சொல்லே.
Aā vaṇṇa varūṇu miruṭi
Appāṇ mūṇṇē palavarī collē.

Pala-v-ari-col has *a*, *ā* or *va* at the end.

Ex. *Pala*, *uṇṭaṇa*, *kariya*; *yā*, *uṇṇā*; *uṇkuva*.

10. இருதினை மருங்கி னைம்பா லறிய
ஈற்றுநின் நிசைக்கும் பதினோ ரெழுத்தும்
தோற்றந் தாமே வினையொடு வருமே.
Irutiṇai maruṅki ṇaimpā laṛiya
Īrṇunin ṛicaikkum paṭiṇō reluttum
Tōṛṛan tāṁē viṇaiyoṭu varumē.

The eleven suffixes mentioned above as denoting the five *pālā* of the two *tiṇais* invariably appear in verbs.

Note 1.—The word *tōṛram* in the sūtra is in the locative case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note 2.—The expression *viṇaiyoṭu varumē* suggests that their appearance at the end of nouns is not obligatory. Hence we have nouns like *alavaṇ* (crab), *peṇmakaṇ* (girl), *makkal* (persons), *tāyār* (mother) etc. which do not conform to the above rules.

Note 3.—Though the expression *īrṇuninṛicaikkum* which means 'is used at the end' suggests that the eleven letters *ṇ*, *l*, *r* etc. are suffixes at the end of nouns and verbs, yet it is only *anuvāda* with respect to *pa*, *ti*, *ṭi*, *ṛi*, *a*, *ā* and *va* since the same idea is conveyed by the word *iruti* in the sūtras 7, 8 and 9.

Note 4.—Though *mār* is not a single letter yet the word *eluttu* in this sūtra is used to include it since all the other ten are each a single letter. This is an illustration of *chatrinyāya* (the rule of the majority).

Note 5.—The word *tāmē* in the sūtra is used only for the sake of euphony.

11. வினையிற் றோன்றும் பாலறி கிளவியும்
பெயரிற் றோன்றும் பாலறி கிளவியும்
மயங்கல் கூடா தம்மா பினவே.
Viṇaiyir rōṇrum pālari kiḷaviyum
Peyarir rōṇrum pālari kiḷaviyum
Mayaṅkal kūṭā tammara piṇavē.

The gender-number denoting element (*pāl*-element) in the predicate should not disagree with that in the subject; but they should conform to usage.

Ex. *yāṇ vantēṇ*, *avaṇ vantāṇ*, *avaḷ vantāl*, *avar vantār*, *aṣṭu vantatū*; *avai vantaṇa*; *yām vantēm*; *nīyir vantīr* etc.

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkiniyar interpret the word *kiḷavi* to mean *poruḷ* or meaning. According to them the meaning of the sūtra is that the gender and number of the *object* denoted by the predicate should agree with the gender and number of that denoted by the subject. In that case the expression '*tammarapiṇavē*' would be meaningless, since usage is only with respect to words and not to the objects denoted by words.

Note 2.—Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that '*tammarapiṇavē*' in the sūtra is unnecessary, since it simply repeats the meaning contained in '*mayāṅkal kūṭā*'. Hence he splits it into a separate sūtra and on its strength, he sanctions the usage of words *pākaṇ* in the sense of the 'tender of elephant', *iṭaiyaṇ* in the sense of shepherd etc., which have not been mentioned in *marapiyal* of the third section, *poruḷatikāram*. Such a device of splitting one sūtra into two or many is called *yōga-vibhāga* in Sanskrit.

Note 3.—Though the sūtra literally means that the gender-number elements in the subject and the predicate should agree with each other, it should be interpreted to mean that the subject and the predicate should agree in gender and number. Otherwise there is no sanction for the usage '*makkaḷ vantūr*', '*peṇmakaṇ vantāl*', etc.

12. ஆண்மை திரிந்த பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவி
ஆண்மை யறிசொற் காகிட னின்றே.
Āṇmai tirinta peyarnilaik kiḷavi
Āṇmai yaricoṇ kākita ninrē.

The word denoting a hermaphrodite with more of feminine traits cannot be used in the masculine-singular.

Ex. *Pēṭi vantāl*; *pēṭiyar vantār*.

Note—Iḷampūraṇar says that the expression '*ākīṭaṇinrē*' suggests the sanction of the usage '*pēṭi vantāṇ*'. This is perhaps due to the fact that it was current in his time.

13. செப்பும் வினாவும் வழாஅ லோம்பல்.
Cēppum viṇāvum vaḷāa lōmpal.

Question and answer should be correct in form and appropriate in sense.

Note—The word *ceppu* means answer to a question. It is generally a statement in an assertive form.

14. வினாவஞ் செப்பே வினாவெதிர் வரினே.

Vināvunñ ceppē vināvetir varinē.

Even a question may be taken as *ceppu*, if it answers a question.

Ex. *Question* : Cāttā uṇṭiyō ?

(Oh Cāttan, did you eat ?)

Answer : Uṇṇēnō ?

(Will I not eat ?) This means 'I will eat'.

15. செப்பே வழியினும் வரைநிலை யின்றே

அப்பொருள் புணர்ந்த கிளவி யான.

Ceppē valīyinum varainilai yinrē

Apporul puṇarnta kiḷavi yāna.

It is not objectionable to use an answer in an irregular form, if it somehow suggests the answer.

Ex. *Question* : Cāttā uṇṭiyō ?

(Oh Cāttan, did you eat ?)

Answer : Vayirū kuttirū.

(Stomach ached.) This suggests that he did not eat.

16. செப்பினும் வினாவினுஞ் சினமுதற் கிளவிக்கு

அப்பொரு ளாகு முறத்துணைப் பொருளே.

Ceppinum vināvinuñ cinaimutar kiḷavikku

Apporu lāku muraḷtunaip porulē.

Both in *ceppu* and *vinā* only like objects can be compared, or contrasted, part with part and whole with whole.

Ex. (a) Ivaḷkaṇṇiṇ avalkaṇ periya.

(Her eyes are bigger than the eyes of this lady.)

Num aracaṇiṇ em aracaṇ muraḷ ceyyum.

(Our king is more just than your king.)

(b) Ivaḷkaṇ okkum avalkaṇ.

(The eyes of this lady are similar to those of hers.)

Em aracaṇai okkum num aracaṇ.

(Your king is similar to our king.)

(c) Ivaḷkaṇṇiṇ avalkaṇ periyavō ?

(Are her eyes bigger than those of this lady ?)

Em aracaṇiṇ num aracaṇ muraḷ ceyyumō ?

(Is your king more just than our king ?)

(d) Ivaḷkaṇ okkumō avalkaṇ ?

(Can her eyes compare with those of this lady?)

Eni aracaṇai okkumō num aracaṇ ?

(Is your king similar to our king ?)

17. தகுதியும் வழக்குந் தழீஇயின வொழுகும்

பகுதிக் கிளவி வரைநிலை யிலவே.

Takutiyum valakkum taḷiyina volukum

Pakutik kiḷavi varainilai yilavē.

Certain expressions (which do not conform to the previous rule) are not prohibited, if propriety demands or usage sanctions them.

Ex. (a) Innaṇkai-kaṇ nallavō, kayal nallavō ?

(Are the eyes of this lady better or the carp ?)

(b) Pakalō iravō ?

(Is it day or night ?)

(c) Iruppēṇō pōvēṇō ?

Will I live or die ?

Note 1.—In Ex. 1. *kaṇ* which is a *ciṇai* or part is compared to *kayaḷ* which is a *mutal* or whole. Still such a usage is considered proper, since it gives a vivid description of the beauty of the eyes.

Note 2.—The above meaning is given by Teyvaccilaiyār. The other commentators think that the euphemistic expressions like *avar tuñciṇār* (they slept) for *avar cettār* (they died), etc. and expressions like *venkaḷamar*¹, *karuṇkaḷamar*², *veḷ yāṇi*, etc. are sanctioned by this sūtra. Teyvaccilaiyār takes the former part to be sanctioned by sūtra 442 '*avaiyal kiḷavi maraittaṇar kiḷattal*' in *eccaviyal*.

Note 2.—The word *pakuti-k-kiḷavi* is interpreted by Teyvaccilaiyār to be 'certain expressions' and by the other three commentators as *pakka-c-col* or related words.

18. இனச்சுட் டில்லாப் பண்புகொள் பெயர்க்கொடை

வழக்கா றல்ல செய்யு ளாதே.

Inaccut tiḷḷāp paṇṇukol peyarkkoṭai

Valakkā ralla ceyyu lāre.

The use of adjectives which are not restrictive in character is allowed only in poetry.

Ex. Ceñṇāyirru nilavu vēṇṭiṇum (P. N. 58).³

(Even if one wants moonlight from the red sun.)

1. Venkaḷamar = Vēḷālas or agriculturists.

2. Karuṇkaḷamar = Pulaiyas or low class people.

3. P. N. = Puranāpūru.

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